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Charles William Hamilton.

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CHAPTER I.

State of the Britiſh empire at the concluſion of the laſt reign.—Threatened invaſion of Ireland.—Landing of Thurot at Carrickfergus.—General Stopford's letter on that occaſion.—Captain Elliot's account of Thurot's defeat at ſea.—Number of militia, marched againſt the French.—Diſturbances in Dublin in conſequence of an apprehended union with Great-Britain.—Cloſe of the ſeſſion of 1760.—*Lords-juſtices appointed.—Death of King George II.—His character.—Acceſſion of his preſent majeſty.—His marriage.—General ſtate of affairs.—Earl of Halifax appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland.—Opening of the ſeſſion,* 1761.

AT the termination of the laſt reign, the government of this kingdom was in the hands of the Duke of Bedford, who was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in October, 1759. Great-Britain had been for ſome years engaged in a continental war, in which ſhe eventually proved ſucceſsful, under the prudent adminiſtration of the celebrated Mr. Pitt, (afterwards lord Chatham:)—a man whoſe virtue and abilities raiſed the Britiſh empire to the zenith of it's glory.—The public mind however was about this time agitated, by the apprehenſion of a French invaſion: and during the ſeſſions of 1759 and 1760, meaſures were taken to put the

kingdom in the beſt ſtate of defence,—to augment it's military force,—to repair the different barracks, forts and garriſons,—and likewiſe to ſupport public credit, which had naturally been affected by the circumſtances of the times.

On the 29th of Oct. 1759, the following meſſage from the lord lieutenant was communicated to the houſe of commons.

" *Gentlemen,*"

" Mr. ſecretary Pitt having, by his majeſty's expreſs commands, acquainted me by his letter, which I received on Friday the 19th inſtant, that it appears by repeated moſt authentic intelligences that France, far from deſiſting from the plan of invaſion, on account of the diſaſter happened to her Toulon ſquadron, is rather more and more confirmed therein, and even inſtigated by deſpair itſelf, to attempt at all hazards, the only reſource ſhe ſeems to think left her, for breaking, by ſuch a diverſion given us at home, the meaſures of England abroad, in proſecution of a war which hitherto, by the bleſſing of God on his majeſty's arms, opens in all parts of the world ſo unfavourable a proſpect to the views of France; and Mr. ſecretary Pitt having added, on this ſubject, that there is a ſtrong probability, in caſe the body of the troops, conſiſting of 18,000 men, under the command of the *Duc De' Aiguillon*, aſſembled at *Vannes*, where more than ſufficient tranſports for that number are actually prepared, and ready to receive them on board, ſhould, (as the ſeaſon of the year is growing leſs favourable for cruiſing) be able to elude his majeſty's ſquadrons, *Ireland* will not fail to be one of their objects."

" I think it incumbent on me, in a matter of ſuch high importance to the welfare of *Ireland*, to lay this intelligence before you. His majeſty will not make any doubt, but that the zeal of his faithful Proteſtant ſubjects in this kingdom will have been already ſufficiently quickened, by the repeated

ed accounts which have been received, of the dangerous designs of the enemy; and of their actual preparations in conſequence, made at a vaſt expence, in order to invade the ſeveral parts of his majeſty's dominions: And I have his majeſty's commands, to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of *Ireland* to exert their well-known zeal and ſpirit, in ſupport of his majeſty's government, and in defence of all that is moſt dear to them, by a timely preparation to reſiſt and fruſtrate any attempts to diſturb the quiet, and ſhake the ſecurity of this kingdom."

"I do therefore, in the ſtrongeſt manner, recommend it to you, to manifeſt, upon this occaſion, that zeal for the preſent happy eſtabliſhment, and that affection for his majeſty's perſon and government, by which this parliament, and this kingdom, have been ſo often diſtinguiſhed."

Fortunately, this dreaded invaſion did not take place: the people of *Ireland* nevertheleſs, gave evident proofs of their loyalty, and attachment to their ſovereign on this occaſion. One circumſtance however, created a temporary alarm;—a ſmall body of French troops, (not exceeding 1000) under the command of M. Thurot, landed at Kilroot, near Carrickfergus on the 22nd. Feb. 1760; they had not immediately any hoſtile intention, but were driven here, by ſeverity of weather, in great diſtreſs and want of proviſions.—M. Thurot had left Dunkirk in the month of October preceding, with a ſquadron conſiſting of the Belleiſle, 50 guns,—Begon, 40—La Bland, 30—Terpſichore, 20—and Amarand, 18.—His ſeamen were few and very bad, his troops when at Dunkirk amounted only to about 1500, and during his ſtay in Dunkirk-road they were ſo ſickly that ſcarce a day paſſed but ſome were landed, and for want of hoſpitals were obliged to lie in the open Change of Dunkirk; they were conſequently much reduced in number, when he arrived in *Ireland*.

The kingdom was in general much alarmed at this event; ſome depredations were, as uſual in ſuch caſes, committed by the enemy, againſt whom forces were immediately brought forward from different parts of the country. The following official letter received by the then lord lieutenant, from major general Strode who commanded at Belfaſt, dated 23 Feb. 1760, gives an authentic account of what occurred. (*a*)

" INFORMATION of Ben. Hall, lieut. and adjutant to my regiment, who this moment arrived here, on his parade, from Carrickfergus, in order to get proviſions for the officers and ſoldiers of my regiment there, ſays, that on the 21ſt. inſt. three ſhips appeared off the iſle of Magee, ſtanding in ſhore, for the bay of Carrickfergus; and at eleven o'clock came to an anchor, about two miles and a-half to the N. E. part of the Caſtle, and within muſket ſhot of the ſhore at Kilroot-point. At this time the ſmall number of troops belonging to the garriſon, were at exerciſe, about half a mile on the road to Belfaſt; and at a quarter after eleven o'clock, the guard was turned out, made up, and marched off, to relieve that on the French priſoners in the caſtle: the reſt of the men continued in the field of exerciſe, where an account was ſoon brought, that the three ſhips juſt come to anchor had taken and detained two fiſhing boats, and with them and ſeveral others were plying on and off between the ſhore and the ſhips: on which immediate orders were ſent to the caſtle for both guards to continue under arms and double the centinels on the French priſoners; and be particularly ſtrict and watchful over them, 'till they could be ſatisfied whether they were friends or enemies; though at ſame time, a ſtrong report prevailed with ſome, that it was an Engliſh frigate and two ſtore ſhips: but to be convinced what they were, after the troops had aſſembled in the market-place, lieutenant Hall went off with a reconoitering

(*a*) The reader will obſerve, no alteration has been made in this letter from the language in the original.

tering party, and took poſt on a riſing ground, where he could plainly perceive eight boats landing armed men; and that they drew out in detachments, and took poſt on the dykes, hedges, and all the riſing grounds, from whence they could have the moſt extenſive views: upon which he gave the neceſſary orders to his non-commiſſion officers and men, to have a watchful eye of their approaches, and to take particular care that they did not get round them, by going at the foot of the hill undiſcovered: in order to prevent which he poſted them himſelf, and told them as ſoon as ever their advanced guard came within ſhot, to fire upon them, and continue ſo to do, until they repulſed them; or, if neceſſary to retreat, he likewiſe pointed that out to them, with orders to take every opportunity or advantage of the ground, in their retreat, to retard the enemy's approach: and to be ſure to keep up a communication with the town as much as poſſible; and, on this he immediately went to the town and acquainted lieut-col. Jennings, where he met him with the troops on the parade, who immediately ordered detachments to be made to defend the gates of the town, and all the avenues leading thereto; ſoon after which the reconnoitering party retired, after having ſpent all their ammunition: during which time the lieut-col. and chief magiſtrate of the town, ſent off the ſheriff and Mr. Macklewain (who is captain of the militia of the corporation) with orders to take off the French priſoners of war, and convey them with all ſpeed to Belfaſt, where they were to receive further orders from me. By this time the enemy were in full march for the town, which he computed to be near 1,000 men; and two or three ſtraggling huſſars, on horſes they had pick'd up after landing, attempted to enter the gates, but on the firſt fire, retired, but were ſoon ſupported by parties of foot, who attacked both the north and ſcotch gates; as alſo the garden walls of lord Donegal; but were repulſed alſo, and kept back as long as the men had ammunition. On which col Jennings ordered the whole to retire to the caſtle; which he

had ſufficient time to do, as now the enemy was a little checked from our fire: and would have been more ſo, if the men had ammunition. Before the gates of the caſtle were ſhut, they made their appearance in the market-place; and then it was in his opinion the deſtruction of the enemy would have commenced, had it not been for the ſtill dreadful want of ammunition, not-withſtanding the ſupply of powder they had received a few days before by my order, from Belfaſt, but were in want of ball, and even time, if they had that, to make them up: from which the enemy finding our fire ſo cool, attacked the gates ſword in hand, which from the battering of the ſhot on both ſides, the bolts were knocked back and the gates opened, and the enemy marched in: but lieut-col. Jennings, lord Wallingford, captain Bland, lieut. Ellis, with ſome gentlemen, and about 50 men, repulſed the enemy and beat them back. Here it was he ſaw great reſolution in a few Iriſh boys, who defended the gate after it was opened, with their bayonets; and thoſe from the Half-moon, after their ammunition was gone, threw ſtones and ſticks. Had this attack of the enemy been ſupported with any degree of courage, they muſt certainly have ſucceeded in it, but they retired back under cover, leaving the gates open, with our men in the front of it; which gave them a ſhort time to conſider what was the beſt to be done: firſt, to ſee the men's ammunition, who if they had any, would have certainly ſallied, and even without it, had not col. Jennings and all the officers thought the enterprize too hazardous.—Then they conſidered if the gate could be defended: the breach in the caſtle wall, could not; it being near 50 feet long; and having but a ſhort time to deliberate, all agreed a parley ſhould be beat, and lieut. Hall ſent to know on what terms they might ſurrender; which was done accordingly, and on his going out, found the greateſt part of the enemy under ſhelter of the old walls and houſes before the caſtle gate; and after the uſual ceremony, demanded of the commandant (the general being wounded) what terms would be

given

given to the troops on their ſurrender; and at the ſame time ſent the drum to call col. Jennings out of the caſtle, in order to treat with the French commandant on the articles of capitulation, which he ſays as well as he can remember were as follows," viz.

" Col. Jennings demanded that the troops ſhould march out with all the honours of war, and the officers to be on their parole in *Ireland*, and that an equal number of priſoners ſhould be ſent to France within one month, or as ſoon after as ſhips could be got ready for that purpoſe. *Granted.*

" That the caſtle of Carrickfergus ſhould not be demoliſhed, or any of the ſtores deſtroyed or taken out of it.— *Granted.*

" That the town and county of Carrickfergus ſhould not be plundered or burnt, on condition the mayor and corporation furniſhed the French troops with neceſſary proviſions.—— *Granted.*"

" This as well as he can remember, was the verbal articles agreed on, though on writing them the French commandant, after conſulting his principal officers, declared he could not by any means anſwer to his maſter the French king for granting to his Britannic majeſty the ſtores in the caſtle, which he inſiſted upon: and col. Jennings, to his great grief, had it not in his power to refuſe, declaring ſolemnly, at the ſame time with a grave countenance, that he would rather have been buried in the ruins. To which the French commandant replied that he could not inſert it in the articles of capitulation, yet he would give his word of honour, and did ſo, that if there was nothing of great value in the caſtle, belonging to the king, beſides powder, he would not touch it: (which there really was not) but how far he will keep his promiſe, is not yet known. Likewiſe

the magistrates of Carrickfergus, not furnishing the French with necessary provisions, they plundered the town, declaring it was their own fault, as they were convinced they had it in their power to supply them, as they had found enough in the town afterwards."

"Mr. Hall further informs me that he has discovered by some of the French, that there was a disagreement betwixt their general and capt. Thurot, the general being for the attack of Carrick, and Thurot for landing at the Whitehouse and attacking Belfast. He likewise judges the frigates to be one of 40 guns, the other two about 20 each. Lieut. Hall begs leave to present his duty to your grace, and hopes your grace will excuse any inaccuracy, that may be in his description, as he was no way provided with any papers, and states but from his memory, having been often interrupted by numbers of gentlemen of the militia, who were crowding perpetually into the room to receive orders."

I beg leave to subscribe myself,

my lord &c.

Belfast 23 *Feb.* 1760. Wm. STRODE."

In about two days after these dispatches were received, M. Thurot thought proper to draw off his troops; he left the kingdom, but being pursued and overtaken by some English vessels, an engagement took place in which the unfortunate Thurot lost his life. Capt. Elliot of the Æolus, in a letter to the admiralty, stated this circumstance as follows: "On the 24th ist. I received information at Kinsale, from his grace the lord lieut. of *Ireland*, that there were three ships of the enemy's at Carrickfergus; the same evening I sailed with his majesty's ship under my command, together with the Pallas and Brilliant, in quest of them. I made the entrance of Carrickfergus, on the evening of the 26th, but could not

get

get in, the wind being contrary and very bad weather; on the 28th, at four in the morning, we got ſight of them, and gave chace; about nine I got up along-ſide of their commodore (off the iſle of Man) and in a few minutes after, the action became general, and laſted about an hour and an half, when they all three ſtruck their colours. They are the Marſhal Belliſle of 44 guns 545 men, including troops, M. Thurot commander, who is kill'd; the la Bland of 32 guns and 400 men, commanded by capt. La Kayce; and the Terpſichore 26 guns and 300 men, commanded by cap. Deſraudais. I put into this road to repair the ſhips, who are all much diſabled in their maſts and rigging: the marſhal Belliſle in particular, who loſt her bolt-ſprit, mizen-maſt, and main-yard, in the action; and it was with great difficulty we prevented her ſinking, &c. Incloſed is an account, of the killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhips, viz. Æolus, 4 killed, 15 wounded: Pallas, 1 killed 5 wounded: Brilliant, 11 wounded. N. B. I find it impoſſible to aſcertain the number of the enemy killed and wounded, but by the beſt accounts I can get, they amount to about 300."

JOHN ELLIOT.

Dated 29 *Feb.* 1760.
Ramſey bay.

In conſequence of theſe events, it was reſolved by the houſe of commons, "that the thanks of that houſe ſhould be given to lieut-col. Jennings, for his prudent and reſolute conduct at Carrickfergus; and for the gallant ſtand he made there againſt a much ſuperior force, by which he gained time for the militia to aſſemble, and preſerved Belfaſt from being plundered." It was alſo reſolved "that the zeal, courage and activity, exerted on the landing of the French in this kingdom, by the counties of Antrim, Armagh, and Down, and by the citizens of the City of Londonderry, were highly

highly honourable and beneficial to themſelves, and their country." The inhabitants of *Belfaſt* preſented Lieut. Col. *Higginſon*, of the 62d regiment of foot, with a large and elegant ſilver cup, having an inſcription expreſſive of their gratitude for the exertion of his great military knowledge, vigilance and activity, for the ſecurity of the town of Belfaſt, on the landing of the French troops at *Carrickfergus*. The like compliment was paid to Col. *Jennings*. (a)

During this ſeſſion of parliament, (viz. in Sept. 1759) ſome diſturbances happened in Dublin; from an apprehenſion that a legiſlative union between this country and Great Britain was intended; which being highly diſpleaſing to the public, a riotous mob aſſembled before the Parliament houſe, inſulted and threatened ſeveral of the members, and committed different acts of violence. However, the meaſure which was ſo much dreaded, remained uneffected for many years: and the buſineſs of the ſeſſions being concluded, a prorogation took place in May 1760; whereupon, the lord Primate, earl of Shannon, and the right hon. John Ponſonby were appointed lords juſtices during the abſence of his excellency the lord lieutenant.

On 25 Oct. 1760, his late majeſty Geo. 2nd. died, at the advanced age of 77.—None of his predeceſſors on the throne

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(a) A liſt of the Militia that marched againſt the French, on this occaſion.

Antrim company	100	Newton	70	Liſburn	40
Temple-patrick	100	Loughbrickland	50	Argum	100
Randleſtown	120	Armagh	40	Donaghadee	70
Ballymena	100	Lurgan	60	Bangor	60
Boroughſhane	46	Glenarm	100	Hollywood	80
Clough	100	Ballinire and Balliſten	100	Hillſborough	60
Killylea	60			Market-hill	6
Cumber	60			Dromore	40
Purdeſburn	100	Belfaſt 3 comp.	300	Rich-hill light horſe	70
Gravabby	70	Ballymoney	70		

Total, 2,226.

All cloathed and armed at their own expence.

throne of England, lived to ſo great an age; and few of them enjoyed ſo long a reign. It was a reign likewiſe diſtinguiſhed by circumſtances of peculiar felicity; whether we conſider his public or private character; his ſubjects, (allowing for one ſhort, and as it were a momentary cloud) enjoyed perpetual peace at home; and abroad on many occaſions, acquired great glory. There was to the laſt years, a conſiderable increaſe in their agriculture, their commerce and their manufactures; which were daily improving under the internal tranquillity they enjoyed, and the prudent regulations that were made in every ſeſſion of his parliaments.—By a wonderful providence, he left theſe improvements no way checked, but rather forwarded, in one of the moſt general and waſteful wars, that had raged in the world for many centuries.—He lived almoſt entirely to extinguiſh party ſpirit in his kingdoms; though it was not 'till the cloſe of his reign, that his family might have been conſidered as firmly ſeated on the throne; but having baffled all the private machinations of his enemies' policy, he ſubdued at length the utmoſt effort of their force; and, (what is contrary to the fortune of moſt old kings,) he never poſſeſſed more perfectly the love of his ſubjects, than in the laſt years of his life.—In fact he died at the very point of time, when the terror of his arms, the power of his kingdoms, and the wiſdom of his government, were raiſed to almoſt as high a pitch, as they could poſſibly have arrived at; they were indeed at that height of proſperity, which never had been exceeded in the reign of the moſt fortunate of his predeceſſors.

"His parts" (ſays a certain writer) "were not lively or "brilliant; but the whole of his conduct demonſtrated, "that he had a judgment both ſolid and comprehenſive.— "He underſtood the intereſts of the other ſovereigns of "Europe: and was particularly ſkilled in all the receſſes of "that political labyrinth, the ſyſtem of Germany: of the

liberties

" liberties of which, he was through his whole life, a moſt " zealous aſſertor. He was in his temper, ſudden and vio- " lent; but this though it influenced his behaviour, made " no impreſſion on his conduct, which was always ſufficiently " deliberative and attentive to his own intereſts, and thoſe " of his ſubjects.—He was plain and direct in his intentions; " true to his word; ſteady in his favour and protection of " his ſervants, and never changed them willingly; this ap- " peared clearly in thoſe who ſerved more immediately on " his perſon, whom he ſcarce ever removed; but they " grew old along with him, and died in their employments. " But having been in ſome meaſure compel'ed by a violent " faction, to relinquiſh a miniſter for whom he had great " affection, and in whom he repoſed an unlimited confi- " dence, it afterward became a matter of more indifference " to him, by whom he was ſerved in the affairs of his govern- " ment.—He was merciful in his diſpoſition; but not to " ſuch a degree as in any ſort to encourage public offences. " As he had never been able to attain a perfect knowledge " of the force and beauties of the Engliſh language, he " never ſhewed a ſufficient regard to Engliſh literature; " and this muſt be conſidered as the greateſt, or rather the " only blemiſh in his reign." (a)

His majeſty was ſucceeded in the throne by his grand- ſon, our preſent ſovereign Geo. 3d. who was born 4 June 1738, and is ſon of the late Frederick prince of Wales, who died 20th March 1751. And ſhortly after his acceſſion, viz.

(a) Notwithſtanding this remark, the powers of the human mind were (as *Smollet* obſerves) freely and fully exerciſed in this reign. Conſiderable progreſs was made in *Mathematics* and *Aſtronomy* by divers individuals. *Natural Philoſophy* became a general ſtudy, and the new doctrine of *Electricity* grew into faſhion. Many ingenious treatiſes on *Metaphyſics* and *Morality* appeared; *Anatomy* and *Surgery* were improved by ſeveral uſeful diſcoveries. *Poetry* was not neglected; and the Britiſh ſoil, which had hitherto been barren in the article of *Painting*, now produced ſome artiſts of extraordi- nary merit.

viz. 8th Sept. 1761, his majeſty married the princeſs Charlotte of Mecklenburg ſtrelitz (now queen of Great Britain, &c) who was born 16th. May, 1744.

No monarch ever yet aſcended the throne of theſe kingdoms with more general approbation, than our reigning ſovereign; he received from all parts the ſincere congratulations of his ſubjects: and amongſt other public addreſſes the following was preſented, which we ſelect, as coming from a body of people who ſeldom interfere with political matters, and containing more moral ſentiment, with leſs common place flattery, than is uſual upon ſuch occaſions.

"*To George the third, King of Great Britain and the dominions thereunto belonging.*"

"The humble addreſs of the people called Quakers; of the kingdom of *Ireland.*"

"May it pleaſe the king,"

"WE thy dutiful and faithful ſubjects, being deeply im-
"preſſed with a ſenſe of the loſs theſe nations have ſuſtained
"by the ſudden and unexpected removal of thy royal grand-
"father, our late gracious king, beg leave to condole with
"thee on this affecting event."

"His mild and juſt government rendered him dear to all
"his faithful ſubjects: and the particular indulgence and pro-
"tection we have enjoyed in the free exerciſe of our religi-
"ous duties, have left on our minds laſting impreſſions of
"gratitude and reſpect for his memory."

"At the ſame time permit us to congratulate thee on thy
"acceſſion to the throne of theſe realms, in which exalted
"ſtation, we truſt in that God by whom kings reign, that
"thoſe many virtues which we hear adorn thy breaſt (and
"for

" for which we are humbly thankful to the divine giver) " will ever continue to animate thy conduct : and thy gra- " cious declaration for the encouragement of piety, and ſup- " preſſion of vice and immorality, gives us juſt grounds to " hope, that thy reign will be happy to thy people, and " honourable to thyſelf."

" Perſuaded of the clemency and benevolence of thy diſ- " poſition, and conſcious of our own fidelity and affection " to thy perſon and government, we are embolden'd, to aſk, " and aſſured of thy favourable protection : a protection we " ſtand the more in need of, as ſome of our religious tenets " (of the truth of which we are firmly perſuaded) expoſe " us to ſufferings from unreaſonable men.—Such protection, " we thankfully acknowledge, the kind acceptance of our " peaceable and dutiful demeanour hath procured to us, " during the late reigns of thy royal anceſtors ; and it is " our firm reſolution (thro' divine aſſiſtance) to merit the " continuance thereof, by behaving agreeable to our chriſ- " tian principles, as becomes faithful ſubjects."

" We offer up our fervent prayers to Almighty God, " that he may endue thee with wiſdom, to rule in his fear ; " that in thy days Righteouſneſs may exalt the nation ; and " that thou may be the happy inſtrument of reſtoring a " permanent peace ; that his protecting providence may " ſhield thee from every danger, preſerve thee long the " beloved ſovereign of a happy and grateful people ; and " perpetuate their happineſs by continuing the crown in thy " family to lateſt poſterity."

" *Dublin, the* 13*th. of the* 11*th. month (called Novem- ber)* 1760."

The

The following addreſs was alſo preſented from the Roman Catholics. (a)

"*To the king's moſt excellent majeſty.*"

"The humble addreſs of the Roman catholics of the kingdom of *Ireland*."

"Moſt gracious ſovereign,"

"We your majeſty's moſt dutiful and faithful ſubjects, "the roman catholics of the kingdom of *Ireland*, beg leave "to approach your majeſty with this humble tender of our "unfeigned loyalty, on your majeſty's happy acceſſion to the "throne of your anceſtors."

"While your majeſty's ſubjects of all denominations "are now endeavouring to be foremoſt in the exertion of "every duty towards your majeſty's perſon and govern- "ment; and while all circumſtances of affairs at home, and "abroad, unite for the preſent happineſs and future glory "of your reign; permit us to condole with your majeſty, "and pour out our ſincere ſorrow for the loſs we have ſuſ- "tained, by the death of a monarch, who had always ap- "proved himſelf the common father of all his people; a "loſs the more ſenſible on our part, as the repoſe we have "ſo long enjoyed proceeded from his royal clemency, and "the mild adminiſtration of his government in this king- "dom."

"Ever ſince the acceſſion of your majeſty's royal houſe "to the throne of theſe realms, we have in a particular "manner, experienced the paternal interpoſition of your il- luſtrious

(a) This Addreſs is inſerted to ſhew, that the Roman Catholics were at this time ſenſible of the lenity they had for many years experienced in Government; and it may be remarked on the whole to contain three things, viz.: Strong expreſſions of Loyalty; an acknowledgment of former indulgence; and a ſolicitation of future favours.

" luſtrious predeceſſors. We, moſt gracious ſovereign, who " are ſo unfortunately diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of our fel- " low ſubjects, cannot ſubſiſt without a continuance of the " royal favor and protection."

" Senſible of the ſame hereditary compaſſion in your ma- " jeſty's breaſt, we moſt humbly hope for that ſhare in the " happineſs of your reign, which our peculiar circumſtances " can admit.—And we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty " of our grateful and conſtant return of affection and loy- " alty; a loyalty which our conduct has proved, and our " religion enforces; happy! might it entitle us to expreſs a " wiſh, that of all your majeſty's dutiful ſubjects of this " kingdom, we alone may not be left incapable of promot- " ing the general welfare and proſperity of it."

" May the Almighty ſo influence and direct your majeſty's " counſels, through the whole courſe of your reign, that they " may be ever productive of real happineſs to all your peo- " ple! and may that reign be as memorable for its duration " and felicity, as for the greatneſs and variety of thoſe bleſ- " ſings, which we have already ſo much reaſon to expect " from it."

With reſpect to the general ſtate of *Ireland* at this period, it appears from the public accounts, that at lady day 1759, the nation was in credit *L*.65,774-4 $1\frac{1}{2}$, however the arrears upon the eſtabliſhments, had increaſed ſo conſiderably towards the concluſion of that year that it became neceſſary to order *L* 150,000 to be raiſed at 4 per cent. upon debentures to be made transferrable. (a) This is to be conſidered as the origin of the *funded debt of Ireland*: (b) for the payment of the intereſt of *this* ſum certain duties were granted. In the beginning of 1760 his late majeſty having ordered a conſiderable

(a) Comm. Journ. v. xi. p. 993. (b) Clarendon, on the Revenue &c.

siderable augmentation of his forces, it became necessary to recur to another loan to raise the intended levies; and accordingly a vote of credit was passed by the commons for raising £300,000 at 5 per cent. and as it was found difficult to obtain the former loan at 4 per cent. an additional interest of 1 per cent. was ordered to be given for the £150,000 before mentioned.

"The effects of these exertions (says a certain writer) (c) were immediately and severely felt by the kingdom; these loans could not be supplied by a poor country, without draining the bankers of their cash." And certain it is, that about this time public credit received a considerable shock, through the failure of some bankers particularly connected with government.—The merchants and traders petitioned parliament representing their situation, and a committee of the house of commons was appointed to enquire into the state of public and private credit; to their investigation and support, it must be attributed, that the paper currency of *Ireland* at that time was enabled to exist; for they resolved it to be their opinion, that the funds possessed by some principal banking houses, "were adequate to answer the demands upon them; that their notes should be received as "cash from the subscribers to the loan; and that they would "make good any deficiency in their effects for a certain time, "as far as £50,000 for each bank." Several addresses were also presented to the house of commons recommending, that during the present state of public credit, there should be an increase in the value of Portugal coin, and to permit the currency of Spanish milled money; they were referred to a committee, but it does not appear that any report was made.

(c) Let. on commercial restraints.

Upon the whole it may be obſerved, that during the adminiſtration of the duke of Bedford, (who ſucceeded the marquis of Hartington in 1757) the public revenue continued to decline, and the expences to riſe conſiderably; but that being a period of war, doubtleſs the decline of commerce, and the increaſe of expence in the military department, were amongſt the calamities almoſt inevitable: however, a profuſe miſapplication of ſeveral ſums in the civil department gave juſt reaſon for complaint, and particularly marked the æra of this adminiſtration. (a)

In October 1761, George earl of Halifax having been appointed lord lieutenant, opened the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech to both houſes of parliament.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I HAVE the honor of his majeſty's commands to meet "his firſt parliament in Ireland: I obey them with an entire "ſatisfaction, from an aſſurance that your deliberations will "be influenced by the ſame principles of loyalty and af- "fection to your ſovereign, and of zeal for the proſperity for "your country, which have ſo long diſtinguiſhed the par- "liaments of this kingdom.

"The loſs of our late moſt gracious ſovereign, at a time "when not only the ſecurity of his own dominions, but the "welfare of Europe, ſeemed ſo eſſentially to depend on the "continuance of his life, muſt have affected you in the moſt "ſenſible manner.

"Your grief, however, has already been alleviated, and "your loſs repaired, by the ſucceſſion of his majeſty, not "only to the throne (his legal inheritance) but to the duty, "affection

(a) The extravagant grant of penſions, was likewiſe remarkable, inſomuch that thoſe upon the Civil Eſtabliſhment exceeded at one period all other charges of the Civil Liſt, by no leſs than £. 20,258 4s. 7¾d.

" affection and confidence of his ſubjects, as unbounded " as the greateſt of his predeceſſors have ever poſſeſſed, in " the moſt fortunate period of their reign.

" This parliament happily commences with the acceſſion " of a King bred under the influence, and formed by the ex- " ample of a prince, who uniformly tempered prerogative " with law; and whoſe glory it was in the exerciſe of his " power, to protect the rights and liberties of his people.

" You can be no ſtrangers to his majeſty's moſt gracious " declaration, that the preſervation of the conſtitution in " church and ſtate, and the enforcing a due obedience to " the laws, (not more neceſſary to the laws than to the " liberties of his people) ſhall be the firſt and conſtant " object of his care; and I have it particularly in command " to declare to you, that his ſubjects of this kingdom are " fully and in every reſpect comprehended in theſe aſſur- " ances.

" His majeſty's wiſe choice of a royal conſort, eminent " for her perſonal virtues and endowments, and deſcended " from an houſe ſo illuſtrious for its attachment to the " proteſtant cauſe, diſplays, in the cleareſt light, his paternal " care, not only to preſerve us, but to tranſmit unimpaired " to our poſterity, the bleſſings of his reign, liberty and pure " religion.

" When I conſider the ſecurity of our preſent, and the " proſpect of our future happineſs; and when I ſee you ani- " mated, as I am perſuaded you are, with every ſentiment " which loyalty and gratitude can inſpire, I aſſure myſelf of " a ſeſſion of parliament that will be diſtinguiſhed by its " uninterrupted harmony, and it's effective zeal for the " ſupport of the honour and dignity of the crown. Such " diſpoſitions ſteadily adhered to, cannot fail, under his ma-

" jesty's paternal influence, to preserve you an happy, and to " establish you an opulent and flourishing people." His Excellency amongst other particulars proceeded to state, that there had been only £. 200,000 raised upon the last vote of credit; but that notwithstanding, a large sum would be wanting for the repair of Barracks.

In Feb. 1762, Mr. secretary Hamilton presented to the house of commons, the following message from the lord lieutenant.

" Dunk Halifax."

" I have it in command from his Majesty to inform this house, that notwithstanding the most conciliatory efforts which his Majesty's moderation could dictate, or his royal dignity permit, affairs have been brought to an unhappy, tho' on his side inevitable, rupture with the court of Spain."

" In consequence of this event, and of the dangers to which this kingdom may be thereby particularly exposed, his Majesty has directed me to inform this house, that he has thought it necessary to make an immediate augmentation of five battalions of his forces on this establishment."

" I have it likewise particularly in command from his Majesty, to assure this house, that after the liberal grants which the parliament of Ireland has made in the course of this session, it is with much regret he finds himself under the unavoidable necessity of making any application for further supplies: But his majesty, having in all exigencies, the most full and firm reliance on the experienced affection and loyalty of his faithful Protestant subjects of Ireland, entertains no doubt, that this house will concur, with their usual unanimity and chearfulness, in those measures which the present war has rendered so indispensably necessary, for the defence

of

of his majesty's crown, and of the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom."

"I have directed estimates to be laid before you of the charge that will be incurred by the proposed augmentation, with as much exactness as it can be now computed; and this house may be assured that such sums as shall be granted will be applied with the strictest œconomy."

"I am sensible how unnecessary it would be for me to add any thing, on my part, in regard to a measure that comes so strongly enforced by the recommendation of the crown, by the situation of affairs, and which is so essential to the safety of this country: yet as I look upon this service to be of the utmost moment to the security and preservation of this kingdom, I shall consider your proceeding in it with alacrity and dispatch, as the highest honour that can be conferred on my administration."

In consequence of this message, the augmentation was accordingly ordered, and another vote of credit passed for the raising of £500,000 at 5 per cent. The house of commons also shortly after resolved, that an address should be presented to the lord lieutenant requesting that he would represent to his majesty the sense of that house that the entertainments and appointments of the lord lieutenant of *Ireland* had become inadequate to the dignity of that high station, and that it was the humble desire of that house that his Majesty would be pleased to grant such an augmentation to the entertainments of the lord lieutenant for the time being, as with the then allowances, should in the whole amount to the annual sum of £16,000; which measure was also effected.

CHAPTER II.

Insurrection of the White-boys.—Their depredations.—Observations thereon.—Remarks on the Oak-boys, Hearts-of-Steel-boys, &c.---Conclusion of the Session in 1762.—*Lords-justices appointed.—Removal of Mr. Pitt.—Address to him from the Merchants, &c. of Dublin.---State of the Irish Peerage in* 1759 *---Resolutions of the Citizens of Dublin relative to a Septennial Bill.---Sessions opened in* 1763.---*Proceedings therein.---State of the Nation.--- Motions for an Address to his Majesty.---Session concluded in* 1764.—*Lords-Justices appointed.*

THE peace of the country was now disturbed, by some insurgents, in the southern parts, who stiled themselves *White-boys* or *Levellers*, and committed many acts of violence, robbery and murder: houghing cattle; cutting down trees; destroying ditches and other inclosures: and whose excesses were carried to so dangerous a height, as to require the interposition of military force.

These misguided people bound themselves by an oath, of which the following is said to be a copy.

"I do hereby solemnly and sincerely swear, that I will not make known any secret now given me, or that hereafter may be given me, to any one in the world, except a sworn person belonging to the society called *White-boys*, or otherwise, *Sive Ultagh's* children."

"Furthermore I swear, that I will be ready at an hour's warning (if possible) being properly summoned by any of the officers, serjeants, or corporals belonging to my company.

"Furthermore I swear, that I will not wrong any of the company I belong to, of the value of one shilling; nor suffer

ſuffer it to be done by others, without acquainting them thereof.

" Furthermore I ſwear, I will not make known in any ſhape whatſoever, to any perſon that does not belong to us, the name or names of any of our fraternity ; but particularly the names of our reſpective officers.

" Laſtly I ſwear, that I will not drink of any liquor whatſoever, whilſt on duty, without the conſent of one or other of the officers, ſerjeants or corporals ; and that we will be loyal one to the other, as far as in our power lies."

The public mind was much agitated by theſe proceedings ; and it muſt be acknowledged, that means were uſed to repreſent matters in a more ſerious and alarming point of view, than was really neceſſary.——The cauſe of theſe diſturbances was often miſ-ſtated,—every occurrence relating to them was imprudently exaggerated. A Popiſh plot was alledged to have been on foot, to overturn the government, to maſſacre the Proteſtants,—and to favour our enemies in their dreaded invaſion.

Acts of popular outrage are committed generally by the lower order of the people :—And as that order principally conſiſts in this kingdom, of Roman Catholics,—it was in ſome reſpect, a natural conſequence, to attribute the miſdemeanors of the Southern inſurgents, indiſcriminately, to perſons of that perſuaſion.—The houſe of commons therefore appointed a committee, " to enquire into the cauſes and progreſs of (what was termed) " the *Popiſh inſurrection*, in the province of *Munſter*."

It appears however, that this evil did not originate from *religious* prejudices : and if any reliance may be placed on public declarations, the higher order of Roman Catholics wholly diſapproved of theſe proceedings. Several exhortations

tations were read in the different chapels throughout the kingdom, diſſuading the ignorant and deluded from ſuch atrocious offences, (a)

In fact,—the cauſe of that diſturbance, is now known to have been this.—Some landlords in Munſter ſet their lands

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(a) Amongſt others, the following was read in all the Roman catholic chapels in *Dublin*.

" *DEAR CHRISTIANS*,"

" We think it our duty to remind you of the gratitude and thanks " you owe to the Almighty God, who in theſe calamitous times, ſo fatal to " other parts of Europe, leaves you in the happy enjoyment of peace and " all the bleſſings that attend it; bleſſings that ought to fill your hearts with " the deepeſt ſenſe of God's mercy towards you, and thankfulneſs to our " chief governor here, whoſe paternal care and pity, equally generous and " extenſive, knows no diſtinction of perſons or people. Theſe bleſſings " we attribute in a great meaſure to your peaceable and diſcreet behaviour " hitherto :—wherefore we exhort you in the bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, to " continue to demean yourſelves in the ſame peaceable manner, and to avoid " every thing in public or private, that might give the leaſt ſhadow of of- " fence; that our miniſtry (as St. Paul ſays) may not be blamed. Nor " does this caution proceed from any diffidence we have of your future " conduct; it is rather intended to raiſe in your minds a lively ſenſe of the " lenity and mildneſs of our preſent moſt gracious government. Length of " time,—your conſtant ready and chearful ſubmiſſion to the ruling powers, " and above all, the merciful and humane diſpoſitions of the preſent royal " family, have greatly worn off the rigour of prejudice againſt you :— " theſe happy diſpoſitions encouraged by a continuance of the ſame be- " haviour in you, may perhaps improve ſtill more to your advantage : but " whether we ſhall be deem'd worthy of future favour or not, it is our duty " as miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, ſtrongly to enforce the obligations of a ſub- " miſſive, obedient, and peaceful behaviour; and yours as chriſtians and " good ſubjects, to fulfil them ſteadily in your practice."

Perhaps it may be excuſeable to mention here, a circumſtance that occurred during the diſturbances before ſpoken of.—In May 1762, Mr Wm. Kennedy then pariſh prieſt of Tulla in the county of Tipperary, being apprehended, was brought to Limerick, and there examined before the late Godfrey Lill eſq. (formerly one of the Juſtices of the court of common-pleas) when two letters from his ſuperior, were found about him, ſtrenuouſly recommending that if any of the *Levellers* appeared in that pariſh, he ſhould exert himſelf as much as poſſible to ſuppreſs them.—As nothing was proved that could criminate the priſoner, he was ſoon after liberated.

lands to cotters, far above their value ; and to lighten their burdens, allowed commonage to their tenants by way of recompence.—Afterwards, in deſpite of all equity, and contrary to all compacts, the landlords incloſed theſe commons; and precluded their unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable.——Too ignorant, (ſays Dr. *Campbell*) to know the law, and too poor to bear the expence of it ; they betook themſelves to violence as their only reſource. As mobs, (continues the ſame writer) ſeldom riſe without ſuffering ſome grievance, and never ſubſide without doing ſome injury; ſo theſe inſurgents having no proſpect of redreſs, began to direct their vengeance againſt the clergy.——The deluded rabble, ſmarting under the galling load of oppreſſion, fled every where for relief, but where they ought ; and in order to divert their attention from themſelves, it became the policy of the landlords and graziers, to cheriſh, or at leaſt connive at the ſpirit of curtailing the church of it's pittance, (*c*)—Such was the real origin of a diſturbance, that occaſioned a conſiderable alarm, and tended in no ſmall degree to increaſe thoſe party differences, that have at all times proved ſo detrimental to the true intereſt and happineſs of this country.—Several of theſe miſguided delinquents received the juſt puniſhment of their crimes ; but it required ſome time to reſtore perfect order and tranquillity:—and tho' the tumultuous riſings of the *Whiteboys* were ſuppreſſed, the ſpirit of inſurrection was not eradicated,—in as much as the evil from which it originated has not been remedied—namely, the *wretched, oppreſſed and impoveriſhed ſtate of the peaſantry.* (*d*)

It is not meant by any remark of this kind, to excuſe or encourage ſuch atrocious crimes ;—but it cannot be improper, to point out the cauſe of them. To know the ſource of a diſorder, is the beſt direction toward it's cure.

As

(*c*) Campbell's Phil. Surv. (*d*) See Clarend. ut ſup.

As one insurrection has frequently proved to be an encouragement or prelude to another; so this kingdom was soon after disturbed by risings in other parts, but grounded on different principles; *Oak-boys*, and *Hearts-of-steelboys* made their appearance successively, in the northern countries.

The high-ways in Ireland were formerly made and repaired by the labour of house-keepers. He who had a horse, was obliged to work six days in the year; himself and horse: He who had none, was to give six days labour. It had been long complained, that the poor alone were compelled to work;—that the rich had been exempt;—that instead of mending the *public* roads, the sweat of their brows was wasted on private roads, useful only to overseers. At length, in the years 1763 and 1764, the discontented shewed their resentment. In the most populous, manufacturing and consequently civilized part of the province of Ulster, the inhabitants of one parish refused to make more, of what they called *Job-roads*. They rose almost to a man; and from the oaken branches which they wore in their hats, were denominated *Oak-boys*.

The discontent being as general as the grievance, the contagion seized the neighbouring parishes: from parishes it flew to baronies, and from baronies to counties; 'till at length the greater part of the province was engaged.—The many-headed monster, (as Dr. Campbell observes) (a) being now roused, did not know where to stop, but began a general redress of grievances, whether real or imaginary. Their first object was the overseers of roads;—the second the clergy, whom they resolved to curtail of their tythes;—the third was the landlords, the price of whose lands, particularly the turf-bogs, they set about regulating. They had several inferior objects, which only discovered the phrensy of insurrection.

The

(a) Camp. Phil. Surv.

The army was hereupon collected from the other provinces; for 'till then the province of Ulster was deemed so peaceful that scarcely any troops were quartered in it. The rabble was soon dispersed, with the loss of a few lives; and the tumult was for a time, quelled in a few weeks. In the ensuing session of parliament, the matter was taken into consideration; the old act was repealed, and provision made for the future repairs of roads, by levying a tax off both rich and poor.—The cause and discontent being thus happily removed, peace and quiet returned to their former channels.

The rising of the *Steel-boys* in 1769, was not so general, but it was more violent, as proceeding from a more particularly interesting cause;—the source of it was this.—An absentee nobleman, possessed of one of the largest estates in the kingdom, instead of letting it when out of lease, for the highest rent, adopted a novel mode, of taking large fines and small rents.—The occupier of the ground, though willing to give the highest rent, was unable to pay the fines; and therefore dispossessed by the wealthy undertaker, who not contented with a moderate interest for his money, racked the rents to a pitch above the reach of the old tenant.

Upon this the people rose against *Forestallers*, destroying their houses; and maiming their cattle, which now occupied their quondam farms.—When thus driven to acts of desperation, they knew not how to confine themselves to their original object; but became like the *Hearts of Oak*, general reformers.—The army however soon subdued them, and some who were made prisoners, having suffered by the hands of the executioner, the country was restored to its pristine tranquility.

Both these insurrections (says the writer last mentioned) being in the north, the most opulent, populous and civilized part

part of the kingdom; we may obſerve have no ſimilitude to that of the *White-boys* in the ſouth, either in their cauſes or effects; except in the general idea of oppreſſion.—The cauſe which generated the one being removed, and that of the other being only temporary, the duration of neither was long: the riſe and fall of each was like that of a mountain-river, which ſwelled by a broken cloud, at once overwhelms all around; and then ſhrinks down as ſuddenly into its accuſtomed bed.—Whereas in the ſouth, where the cauſe was permanent, without appearance of redreſs, the effect remained. The poor deprived of their right of commonage,—driven from the good grounds,—obliged to pay five or ſix guineas for an acre to ſet their potatoes in,—and having no reſources for manufactures as in the north; they became enemies to the ſtate:—"*the ſtate not being their friend*; *nor the ſtate's law.*" It is in vain however to urge that fanaticiſm and ſuperſtition, were the original ſources of theſe evils.—If the majority engaged in the north were preſbyterians, and in the ſouth papiſts, it was becauſe the body of the poor are of thoſe perſuaſions in thoſe places.—And it ſhould be attended to that the oppreſſion of the poor in the ſouth proceeded very much from the papiſts themſelves; as the graziers who poſſeſs the farms there are moſtly romaniſts. (a)

The

(a) Lord *Halifax* in his ſpeech at the termination of the ſeſſions in 1762, alluding to the *White-boy* inſurrection, ſpoke thus:

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"I muſt with concern obſerve, that notwithſtanding the exemplary behaviour of all ranks of people in this metropolis, and throughout the greateſt part of this kingdom, ſome diſtant quarters of the country have been unhappily diſturbed with tumults and riots of the lower ſort of people.—I have on this occaſion been reluctantly obliged to call out the *military* power, which is *ſometimes* the *neceſſary*, but *ought always to be the laſt* reſource of Government.—The officers ordered on that ſervice have executed their duty with activity and diſcretion.—Theſe tumults are, I hope, wholly ſuppreſſed.—Many of the perſons concerned in them are in cuſtody, and await the puniſhment of their offences—others are fled from juſtice, and ſeem to want only an occaſion of returning to their reſpective habitations with impunity."

The government of lord *Halifax* ended with the ſeſſion in 1762, whereupon the Primate, Earl of Shannon and John Ponſonby eſq. were (as before) appointed lords juſtices: a change had alſo taken place in the Britiſh miniſtry, when the Earl of *Bute* was appointed ſecretary of ſtate in the room of Mr. *Pitt*. On that occaſion, the following addreſs was agreed on by the citizens of Dublin.

" To the right hon. *Wm. Pitt* eſq. late one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate."

" The grateful addreſs of the Merchants and Traders of the city of Dublin,"

" We his majeſty's moſt loyal, dutiful and affectionate ſubjects, the merchants, traders, and other citizens of the city of Dublin, whoſe names are underwritten, judge theſe kingdoms too deeply intereſted in your withdrawing from the high ſtation you have lately ſo eminently and greatly filled, to the honour and ſatisfaction of the crown and the ſubject, to let ſo important an event paſs over in ſilence.

" Tho' thus far removed from the great ſcene of action, we ſenſibly felt the manifold good of your truly patriot and ſingularly wiſe and upright adminiſtration.—To this we muſt attribute the reſcuing Britain from the ſhameful infection of that peſtilential, miniſterial practice, which called foreign mercenaries to the defence of a Country, by her native force, when properly exerted, more than a match for half the powers of Europe."

" To your ſteady virtues we ſtand indebted for freeing our mother Country from the reproach of calling foreign Troops to defend her from a threatened invaſion, and for chaſtiſing the inſolence of the vaunting invader; inſpiring the councils and arms of Britain with that antient true national ſpirit, which when duly exerted, ever has, and ever muſt render

render the Britiſh name terrible to her foes in the utmoſt extremities of the globe."

"Under ſuch an adminiſtration we muſt always ſee, inſtead of private intereſt, merit, the only recommendation to places of important truſt.—By ſuch meaſures as theſe it is that we have ſeen commerce accompanying conqueſt to the remoteſt parts of the earth; while faction was ſilenced, and jarring parties reconciled and united at home.

"Thus, Sir, have your ſteady patriot virtues raiſed monuments to your fame more durable than marble or braſs.

"As the enemies of theſe kingdoms never had ſo great cauſe to rejoice, as they have from your withdrawing yourſelf from the ſphere in which alone you could render theſe unſpeakably great ſervices to your country; ſo the true friends of theſe kingdoms never had more juſt cauſe to mourn.

"We ſhould therefore think ourſelves wanting in duty to our patriot King, to our mother Country, as well as our native, did we omit giving this public teſtimony of our ſenſe of the loſs which all ſuſtain by the withdrawing of a Miniſter of ſuch matchleſs abilities and equal fidelity at ſo important and critical a conjuncture as the preſent.

"Indulge us thus, great ſir, in venting our griefs and blending our tears with thoſe of the reſt of our mourning brethren and fellow-ſubjects in Britain, as well as in other parts of this kingdom. Accept our moſt hearty and unfeigned acknowledgments for the unſpeakable ſervices and laſting honours you have already done your native country, and all the dominions of the crown of Great-Britain. And give us leave to aſſure you that we ſhall ever admire, and ever with profound reſpect and gratitude remember, the unparalleled

paralleled virtues that have ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed your Adminiſtration."

This addreſs evidently expreſſed the real ſentiments of a great majority of the people both in Ireland and Great Britain, and ſhews the opinions they entertained on the removal of that Miniſter.—Mr. *Pitt* was afterwards created an Engliſh Peer, by the title of Lord *Chatham*: and having now ſpoken of Peerage, it may not be improper to notice the ſtate of the *Iriſh* Peerage in 1759, which amounted only to 43 *Earls*—42 *Viſcounts*—40 *Barons*—Total, 125. ——Peereſſes by creation, 2.

During the ſeſſion laſt ſpoken of, a Septennial Bill, or an act for limiting the duration of Parliaments as in England, was taken into conſideration, and was much wiſhed for by a conſiderable part of the people. The meaſure however for the preſent did not ſucceed, though it was endeavoured to be enforced by many public declarations in its favour. In March 1762. the merchants, traders, and citizens of Dublin having aſſembled, came to theſe reſolutions, amongſt others, viz.

"Reſolved, That we ſhall ever retain the moſt grateful remembrance of the ſeveral Lords and Commons, who in their reſpective ſtations have ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in ſupport of the Septennial Bill.

"Reſolved, That although we reſt ſecure againſt foreign enemies, under the protection daily given us by Great Britain, our protection againſt domeſtic invaders depends wholly on the limitation of Parliaments.

"Reſolved, That the clandeſtine arts which are uſually practiſed (and have been ſometimes detected) in obſtructing of Bills tending to promote the Proteſtant intereſt, ought to make Proteſtants the more active in ſupporting the Septennial

tennial Bill; the rather as no doubt can remain, that a ſeptennial limitation of Parliaments would render the generality of landlords aſſiduous in procuring Proteſtant tenants, and that the viſible advantage accruing, would induce others to conform.

"Reſolved, That theſe our reſolutions be preſented to the repreſentatives of this city in Parliament, entreating they will immediately take into their moſt ſerious conſideration the ſtate of the Septennial Bill, now five months in its progreſs; the ſeſſion of Parliament near its end; all aids within the ability of this nation, given with unanimity and chearfulneſs to the Crown; and nothing yet known with certainty touching this act of redreſs; the ſingle one craved by the people, and the only one that can relieve them from domeſtic oppreſſors."

The public continued long anxious to obtain ſuch a law, but it did not paſs, (as will appear hereafter) for ſeveral years. (a) The enſuing ſeſſion was opened in October, 1763, by the Earl of *Northumberland*, whoſe ſpeech to both Houſes of Parliament contained the following obſervations reſpecting the diſturbed ſtate of the country, already deſcribed.

"Not only my duty, but my earneſt good wiſhes for the poſterity of Ireland, oblige me to take this opportunity of mentioning to you the only unpleaſing circumſtance which has occurred ſince my entrance upon this Government; the tumultuous riſings of the lower people, in contempt of laws and of Magiſtracy, and of every Conſtitutional ſubordination, muſt if not duly attended to, be productive of the moſt fatal conſequences; they are a diſgrace to a Country of Liberty; they are ruinous to a country of commerce,

(a) The frequent election of Repreſentatives in Parliament appears to be eſſential to the Liberty of the People, but the arguments on that queſtion will be more properly ſtated hereafter.

merce, and muſt be particularly fatal here, where the leaſt check to the riſing ſpirit of induſtry is ſo very ſenſibly felt, and ſo very difficult to be relieved; no means can ſerve more effectually to prevent theſe diſorders for the future, than the encouragement of ſuch inſtitutions as tend to impreſs on the minds of the lower order of the people early habits of induſtry, and true principles of religion."

The Houſe of Commons, therefore, ſoon turned their attention to this ſubject, and a committee was appointed to enquire into the cauſes of the late tumults in *Ulſter*, and it was ordered that it ſhould be an inſtruction to the ſaid committee to enquire into the cauſes of the inſurrections of the *South.* (a)

Two other very popular ſubjects, now became matter of diſcuſſion; the reduction of the *Penſion Liſt*, and the right of the Britiſh Privy Council to alter Bills tranſmitted from this country, under the well-known ſtatute, called *Poyning's Act.*—As this ſtatute now has loſt its operation, and Ireland was afterward reſtored to its right of independent Legiſlature, we ſhall omit any particular remarks on that head, 'till we deſcend to a later period, only obſerving in this place, that the Houſe of Commons entered this ſeſſion into a reſolution, that no Bill ſhould paſs in that Houſe, until a committee thereof ſhould compare the tranſmiſs with the original heads of a Bill, and report if *any*, *and what alterations* had been made therein, to the Houſe. It was likewiſe reſolved that the Houſe would not proceed upon any petition, motion, addreſs, bill, or vote of credit, for granting *any money* but in a committee of the whole Houſe. As to the former object, the Commons reſolved themſelves into a committee of the whole Houſe, to take into conſideration the ſtate of the *Penſions* upon the Civil Eſtabliſhment of this

(a) Comm. Journ. Vol. xiii.

kingdom, and how the increaſe of them might be prevented. It was alſo moved, " That an humble Addreſs be " preſented to his Majeſty, to repreſent in the moſt dutiful " terms, that the debt of this kingdom is become very " great. That the penſions, now in being, that have been " placed on the eſtabliſhments of this kingdom, are one of " the cauſes of the encreaſe of the public debt. That thoſe " penſions have been paid, and continue to be paid out of " all the revenues of this kingdom without diſtinction.— " That it appeared to that Houſe, to be worthy of his Ma- " jeſty's Royal conſideration, whether the grants made of " thoſe penſions, are agreeable to or warranted by the laws " of this kingdom, and whether the revenues of the Crown " that have been given for public uſes, ought or can by law, " be applied to penſions: And therefore moſt humbly to be- " ſeech his Majeſty, to order it to be made known, as his " Majeſty's royal will and command, to the Officers of the " Treaſury of this kingdom, that no part of the revenues " of exciſe, cuſtoms, poundage, hearth-money, quit-rents, " ale licenſes, wine or ſtrong-water licenſes, or of the ad- " ditional duties granted or to be granted in this kingdom, " for any limited term, be applied to any penſion or annuity " granted, or to be granted, out of, or which may any ways " charge or affect, the ſaid revenues of exciſe, cuſtoms, " poundage, hearth-money, quit-rents, ale licenſes, wine, " and ſtrong-water licenſes, and additional duties, or any " additional duties, or any of the ſaid revenues, 'till it ſhall " firſt be determined by a Court of Juſtice, of competent " juriſdiction, that the Crown may grant annuities, or pen- " ſions out of the ſaid revenues; and that his Majeſty may " be graciouſly pleaſed to give his Royal orders to the Of- " ficers of the Treaſury, that no penſions be paid out of " ſaid revenues in any other manner, than the judgment, " or decree of a Court of competent juriſdiction, ſhall de- " termine to be juſt, and agreeable to the laws of this " kingdom;

" kingdom; and that his Majeſty may be graciouſly pleaſed " to order his Majeſty's ſervants of the law in this kingdom, " to make that defence that the laws of the kingdom ſhall " warrant, to every ſuit that ſhall be commenced or carried " on by any penſioner or annuitant, claiming any part of " the ſaid revenues, 'till it ſhall be judicially determined in " the moſt ſolemn manner, and by the dernier reſort, that " the Crown may grant penſions or annuities, out of the re- " venues. That his Majeſty's faithful Commons, neverthe- " leſs do by no means intend that the Crown ſhall be de- " prived of the means of rewarding merit, or of conferring " thoſe bounties on proper occaſions, that the honours and " dignity of the Crown may require: But that his Majeſty's " faithful Commons on the contrary, will be ready to pro- " vide a revenue, ſuch as the condition and circumſtances of " this kingdom ſhall admit of, to enable the Crown to re- " ward merit, and on proper occaſions to confer thoſe boun- " ties that may be ſuitable to the honour and dignity of the " Crown, if it ſhall be determined, that the preſent reve- " nues of the Crown, that have been granted for public " uſes, ought not to be applied to penſions. Provided theſe " revenues be referred and applied to the ſupport of his Ma- " jeſty's Government in this kingdom." This motion, however, was negatived, and it does not appear that the increaſe of *penſions* was ever ſince effectually prevented. Soon afterwards the Houſe reſolved, that no money ſhould be granted that ſeſſion for the encouragement or ſupport of any particular trade or manufacture whatſoever.

The kingdom was, no doubt, at this period involved conſiderably:—Its national debt at Lady-day 1763, amounted to 521,161l. 16s. 6d. The penſions amounted for two years, ending at that time, to 139,175l. 15s. 10¾d. In this year, however, the revenue began to riſe, though by no means in proportion to the increaſe of expence upon the eſtabliſhments; and to aid the ſupply it was neceſſary to

direct, that 100,000l. ſhould be raiſed. This, with the debt funded at Lady-day 1763, being 550,000l. made the *funded* debt incurred during the war, amount to 650,000l. whereof 350,000l. was ordered to be reduced to 4l. per cent. and the remainder to continue at 5l. per cent, until diſcharged.

The rapidity (ſays *Clarendon*) with which this debt was contracted, in leſs than *ſeven* years, compared with the ſums borrowed from the acceſſion of Geo. I. to the year 746, during a period of more than *thirty* years, to ſupport the expences of putting the kingdom into a ſtate of defence during two long wars, and two rebellions, is particularly ſtriking: and it ſeems difficult to reconcile ſo great a diſparity. But we muſt take into conſideration that this long and expenſive war which terminated in 1763, was the firſt in which Ireland was called upon for a contribution.—Former wars only required that Ireland ſhould protect herſelf; the war of 1756, demanded ſupplies for protecting the Empire at large; and that too, from an unfounded eſtimate of the ability of the country. But there was upon the whole too much reaſon to complain of a miſmanagement of the treaſure of the nation, and a want of regard to the intereſts of its inhabitants. (a) From this period we ſhall ſee the debt continually increaſe, notwithſtanding ſeveral efforts for reducing it, owing to the increaſe of expenditure in every department. (b)

It is not therefore extraordinary, that after the failure of the motion above ſtated reſpecting the grants of penſions, ſome other attempt ſhould be made to remedy the growing evil:—accordingly a further motion was made during the ſeſſion

(a) See Comm. Journ. V. xiii. (b) Clarend. on the Reven.

ſeſſion we now ſpeak of, expreſſive of the then ſituation of the kingdom.—It was to the following effect, viz.

" That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to aſſure his Majeſty of our inviolable attachment to his Royal Perſon and Family; that we have the firmeſt reliance on his Majeſty's wiſdom, juſtice, and tender regard for his ſubjects of this kingdom; but that we ſhould fail in our duty to his Majeſty, and deſert the truſt repoſed in us by thoſe we repreſent, ſhould we longer defer laying before his Majeſty the real ſtate of this kingdom, which we have ſome reaſon to fear, may not yet have been fully preſented to his Majeſty's view. That we preſume to do ſo from a firm perſuaſion, that his Majeſty will not believe that we are prompted to it by the ſpirit of faction, but impelled by the neceſſities of the kingdom; and that we have nothing in view but his Majeſty's honour and the proſperity of our country. That during the late ſucceſsful war we exerted our utmoſt efforts for the ſupport of his Majeſty's Government, and to raiſe ſuch ſupplies as his Majeſty thought neceſſary for his ſervice, though it was with the greateſt difficulty we could even provide for payment of the intereſt of the ſums we were obliged to borrow for that purpoſe. But at the ſame time we could not without the utmoſt concern obſerve, tho' we lamented it in ſilence, the great and continual expence of penſions, and that a conſiderable part of thoſe ſums which were deſtined for public uſes were diverted to private purpoſes. That this is one great cauſe of the heavy debt which oppreſſes this kingdom; and which we can ſcarce ever hope to diſcharge, deprived as we are of thoſe reſources from trade, with which the other parts of his Majeſty's dominions are bleſſed. That any conſiderable addition to this burthen muſt depopulate this kingdom, already much exhauſted of its inhabitants. That we preſume with all humility to lay theſe our circumſtances before his Ma-

jesty, not doubting that they will excite in his Royal Breast those sentiments which are so natural to his Princely disposition.

The failure of this last mentioned motion, occasioned another, viz.:

"That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to acknowledge with the utmost gratitude, his Majesty's gracious acceptance of our past favonrs. To assure his Majesty of our firm resolution to pursue such measures as shall tend most to promote the real interest and honour of the Crown. To express the general satisfaction and joy with which his Majesty's most gracious declaration, communicated by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant to both Houses of Parliament at the opening of the session was received, viz. "*That by the conclusion of a general peace we were at length relieved from those burthens, which were unavoidable during a war. That the situation of public affairs would permit a very considerable diminution of public expence, that nothing was to be asked but the continuance of the supplies for the support of the ordinary establishments, and that his Majesty thanked us for our past efforts, without again having recourse to the experienced liberality of Parliament.*"—"That from these assurances, we drew the most flattering expectations of reducing the national debt, and relieving the impoverished people from the burthen of those taxes they were so little able to bear; but that these pleasing hopes were soon blasted by the unexpected requisition of supplies, to support a Civil Establishment, loaded with a long train of pensions, the amount of which, exclusive of the *French* and military, exceeded the expence of all the other branches of the Civil Establishment, in the sum of 42,627l. 19s. 2d. many of which were publicly bought and sold in the market. That the number of Officers upon the Military Establishment is encreased, not only far beyond

beyond what it ever was in time of peace, but even beyond what it was in the time of the moſt dangerous war, and would under any reign but that of his Majeſty, raiſe juſt apprehenſions for the Conſtitution, not only of this kingdom, but of Great Britain. That inſtead of ſix regiments of dragoons and twenty-ſix of foot, (the moſt ever before ſeen in this kingdom) there are now eight regiments of dragoons, and thirty of foot, beſides the four old regiments of horſe. That the expence of General Officers is raiſed from 32,000l. in two years to 45,000l. though there was not a ſufficient number of them in the kingdom to attend the laſt reduction of the forces. That the expence of the Ordnance is ſwelled from 10,600l. in two years to 45,070l. independent of its extraordinary charges, which are very conſiderable, though the whole artillery of this kingdom is not equal to the ordnance of one of his Majeſty's ſhips of war of thirty guns. That every other branch of the Military and Civil Eſtabliſhments is advanced nearly in the ſame proportion. That from principles of duty and affection to his Majeſty, we granted the ſupplies which were demanded from us in his Majeſty's name, for the ſupport of theſe ſeveral Eſtabliſhments, however unſuitable to the circumſtances of the kingdom, however inſupportable to the people. But though the warmth of our zeal and affection for his Majeſty induced us thus liberally to grant thoſe ſupplies, our duty to him and thoſe we repreſent, will not permit us to conceal from his Majeſty or the public, the real ſtate and condition of this kingdom, which we ſhall lay before his Majeſty with all humility, and caſt ourſelves at his Majeſty's feet, to implore his Royal protection againſt his Miniſters. That the expence of the preſent Military Eſtabliſhment amounts in two years to the ſum of 980,355l. 19s.—The Civil Eſtabliſhment to 242,956l. 10s. 9d.; to which muſt be added at the moſt moderate computation 300,000l. for the extraordinary and contingent expences of Government. That

theſe ſums added together amount to the ſum of 1,523,312l. 9s. 9d. That to anſwer this expence the whole revenue of the kingdom, the additional as well as hereditary duties, excluſive of the loan duties, which are but barely ſufficient to pay the intereſt of 650,000l. the preſent national debt, amount to the ſum of 1,209,064l. at a medium for fourteen years: ſo that the expence of the nation for theſe two laſt years, muſt exceed its whole revenue in a ſum of 314,248l. 9s. 9d. which deficiency being added to the national debt, muſt leave this kingdom at the next meeting of Parliament near 1,000,000l. in debt. That the higheſt eſtabliſhments we ever had in time of peace in this kingdom, were thoſe in the two years ending in March 1755, and yet the preſent eſtabliſhments exceed them in the ſum of 283,028l. 9s. 9d.—That during the late expenſive war, the eſtabliſhments amounted, at a medium, only to the ſum of 1,125,790l. for two years; ſo that the preſent eſtabliſhments in a time of peace, exceed the eſtabliſhments in the laſt war in the ſum of 97,522l. 9s. 9d. That we have already contracted a new debt of 100,000l. though we expected to have diſcharged part of the old. That the imports, exports, and home conſumption of this kingdom are already taxed to the utmoſt they can bear. That any addition to theſe taxes, inſtead of increaſing muſt leſſen the revenue. That nothing now remains to be taxed but our lands, which are already loaded with quit-rents, crown-rents, compoſition rents, and hearth-money. That if the preſent eſtabliſhments are to continue, the debt of the nation muſt conſtantly increaſe, and in the end prove the utter ruin of the kingdom. That ſuch is the true, but melancholy ſtate of this country, which nothing but his Majeſty's moſt gracious declarations, ſignified to us by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, could have given us confidence to have laid before him, and which we do, that his Majeſty may judge how far his moſt benevolent intentions have

have been purſued. That we preſume not to point out any particular method of redreſs, fully perſuaded as we are, that when his Majeſty ſhall have been thus fully informed of our real circumſtances, his wiſdom, his juſtice, his humanity, will not permit the utter ruin of a dutiful, a loyal, an affectionate people."

This motion proved as unſucceſsful as the former; but taking the ſtatement therein contained as true, it ſhews the ſituation of this country at that time. To return now to the proceedings of the committee appointed to inquire into the cauſes of the tumultuous riſings:—It was moved that they ſhould report the whole matter, as it appeared to them, ſpecially to the Houſe; but that motion being negatived, the committee reported their reſolutions, ſtating generally, that there had been many treaſonable combinations and inſurrections in different parts of the kingdom.—That theſe exceſſes unleſs reſtrained, muſt be attended with fatal conſequences to the trade, credit, peace, and welfare of this country. That by a regular and ſtrict execution of the laws, theſe violences might be reſtrained. That it was the duty of all Magiſtrates, &c. to be active in executing the laws, and that it would tend to ſuppreſs and prevent the like diſorders, if the ſenſe of Parliament was declared and publiſhed to the people. A motion was made that the conſideration of the reſolutions ſhould be adjourned, until the committee ſhould report the facts upon which ſuch reſolutions were founded, which paſſed in the negative; but an addreſs was agreed on and preſented to the Lord Lieutenant, expreſſing the ſentiments of both Houſes of Parliament upon this ſubject.

It may be thought an extraordinary circumſtance, that notwithſtanding the general marks of attachment and affection ſhewn by every claſs of his Majeſty's ſubjects, to his Perſon and Government at the moment of his acceſſion to the

the Throne, there ſhould in the ſhort period of two or three years, appear much public diſcontent, and a moſt unexpected decreaſe of that loyalty and zeal which had been ſo recently expreſſed by the People towards their Sovereign. In Great Britain particularly, daily complaints iſſued from the Preſs, with ſometimes illiberal and indecent reflections on thoſe in power, and even the character of the firſt Perſonage in the State did not eſcape its licentiouſneſs. It was at this time that the celebrated Mr. *Wilks* publiſhed a Paper called the North Briton, which became ſo much the ſubject of animadverſion. The Houſe of Commons in England upon this occaſion addreſſed his Majeſty, declaring their diſapprobation of ſuch proceedings, and their attachment to his Royal Perſon and Authority. In like manner the Commons of Ireland agreed to an Addreſs, in which they thus expreſſed themſelves :

" We now think ourſelves, in a very particular manner, called upon to make the moſt ſolemn and public declarations of our inviolable duty and attachment to your Majeſty, when the moſt infamous and flagitious libels have been publiſhed and circulated through your kingdom, filled with the groſſeſt inſults to your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon and Royal Authority, violating every rule of decency, order, and Government, and tending to ſtir up, through all ranks of your Majeſty's ſubjects, a ſpirit of diſcontent and of diſobedience to their Prince, the Laws, and the Conſtitution.

" As theſe audacious and outrageous attempts have been deemed fitting objects for the juſt and exemplary cenſure of the Legiſlature of *Great Britain*, we think it cannot be unſeaſonable, and we hope it will not be unacceptable to your Majeſty, that we alſo expreſs our utter deteſtation and abhorrence of ſuch inſolent and wicked practices." (a)

Thus

(a) Comm. Journ. V. xiii.

Thus we ſee the loyalty of the people of *Ireland* kept pace with that of every other part of his Majeſty's dominions.

Without minutely enquiring into the cauſes of theſe early diſcontents, it may be obſerved, that two meaſures had taken place at the commencement of this reign, by no means agreeable to the general inclinations of the people.—The firſt was, the removal of Mr. *Pitt*, who as a Miniſter, ſtood high in the public eſtimation; the ſecond was the concluſion of the war, at a time and in a manner that was much diſapproved of. But it is neceſſary to confine our obſervations to the affairs of *Ireland*.

In May 1764, the Parliamentary Seſſion was cloſed, and the Lord Lieutenant gave the Royal Aſſent to the following amongſt ſeveral other Bills, viz.: An act for indemnifying all ſuch perſons as had been or ſhould be aiding in the diſperſing of riots, and apprehending the rioters; and an act for confirming the titles, and for quieting the poſſeſſions of Proteſtants, and for giving time to converts from Popery, to perform the requiſites of conformity preſcribed by the laws againſt Popery. The ſame Lords-Juſtices were appointed as before; but the *Primate* (a) and the Earl of *Shannon* having both died in December following, the then Lord Chancellor *Bowes* was appointed in their ſtead.

(a) Right Rev. *Geo. Stone.*

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Seſſions opened in 1765.—*Motion for an Addreſs to his Majeſty on the Subject of Penſions.—The like relative to the Judges.—Bill for limiting the duration of Parliaments.—Addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant thereupon.---His Anſwer.---The like to his Majeſty.---His Majeſty's Anſwer.---The Citizens of Dublin inſtruct their Repreſentatives.---Bill introduced to prevent the buying and ſelling Public Offices, &c.---Bill to prevent tumultuous riſings.---State of the Revenue.---National Debt.---Trial of Rev. N. Sheehy.---Lords-Juſtices.---Seſſions concluded.---Opened under Lord Townſhend.---Judges Bill rejected.---Octennial Bill.---Addreſs to his Majeſty.---Proceedings concerning an Augmentation of the Army.---Enquiry into the Military Eſtabliſhment.---Diſſolution of Parliament.*

THE Seſſions of 1765, was opened by the Earl of *Hertford*;—The minority of the Commons continued ſtill deſirous of a reduction of public expences, particularly the Penſion Liſt, and again ſtruggled to obtain an act for limiting the duration of Parliaments. Accordingly a motion was made as follows: "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty to aſſure him of our inviolable duty and zealous attachment to his Perſon and Government.—That it affects us with the deepeſt ſorrow, to find that the penſions in general on the eſtabliſhment of this kingdom have greatly increaſed of late years, inſomuch as to have amounted to the ſum of 158,685l. 4s. 8½d. in the two years ending at Lady-day 1765. That many of theſe penſions have been granted for long terms of years, and for lives, and have been made payable out of the revenue at large. That they have long been the cauſes of ſilent diſquietude; and are of late become the ſubjects of univerſal murmur and complaint. That we ſhould think it a breach of the truſt repoſed in us, longer to conceal from his Majeſty

jeſty the grievances of his faithful ſubjects, and by ſuch omiſſion to poſtpone for a day that redreſs, which with the utmoſt confidence we expect from the dictates of paternal affection, and the ſuggeſtions of Royal Juſtice." This motion was negatived.

Some ineffectual attempts were now made to render the Judges independent of the Crown, and to obtain a law for making their commiſſions "*quam diu ſe bene geſſerint.*"— It was likewiſe moved, "That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, expreſſing in the ſtrongeſt terms the full confidence of his ever-loyal ſubjects of *Ireland*, in his Majeſty's juſtice and parental affection for this kingdom; and repreſenting to his Majeſty that his faithful Commons of Ireland, apprehending that it is a part of their bounden duty, to lay before his Majeſty for his conſideration, ſuch grievances of his people, as they judge to be moſt deſerving of his notice, and as they fear he may not otherwiſe be fully informed of, from a ſenſe of that duty preſume to acquaint his Majeſty, that in many inſtances the laws of this land are leſs reſorted to, revered and obſerved, by the lower claſs of people at this time, than has been uſual heretofore in this kingdom, or than is becoming a people who enjoy the bleſſings of a free Government, of which the commotions in the ſeveral parts of this kingdom, are but too plain and ſtriking examples. That one principal ſource of theſe evils conſiſts in the appointing perſons of mean abilities, and totally unacquainted with the ſtate and municipal conſtitutions of *Ireland*, to the miniſtration of juſtice in the ſupreme Courts of Law in this kingdom; by the means of which, all law-ſuits are protracted to an exceſſive length, and the expences of them are rendered intolerable; the ſecurity of perſons, of life and of property, are daily diminiſhed and made more precarious; the laws inſtead of being conſidered as the protection, are become the oppreſſion of the people, and

and in the place of being obeyed and loved, appear too often contemptible or disgusting, from the incapacity which sometimes is found in those who are entrusted with the execution of them. That your Majesty's faithful Commons, in this their humble representation, are by no means desirous of making any distinction between the subjects of different parts of your Majesty's dominions; with gratitude they acknowledge that in former times, Judges of the most illustrious abilities have been sent from *Great Britain* into this kingdom, to the furtherance of justice, and the manifest advantage of *Ireland*, particularly in the instance of that great man, *(a)* who has so long and so ably presided in your Majesty's High Court of Chancery, to the universal satisfaction of all ranks of people; neither can they with justice omit expressing their approbation of such of our present Judges as are natives of this kingdom, whose conduct and abilities are, in their opinion, irreproachable. That your Majesty's faithful Commons do not presume to point out to your Majesty any remedy for these evils, relying with the firmest confidence on your Majesty's wisdom and experienced affection for your whole people." *(b)* This motion was negatived.

The limitation of Parliaments, being now more than ever, a favourite object, several addresses and resolutions in behalf of that measure were carried at different county meetings. The citizens of Dublin publicly declared their sentiments, and instructed their representatives to exert their most

(a) The Judges at this time, were Lord Chancellor *Bowes*, Lord Chief Justice *John Gore*, Justices *Charles Robinson* and *W. Scott* in the King's Bench. Lord Chief Justice *Richard Aston*, Justices *Robert French* and *Robert Marshal*, in the Common Pleas, and Lord Chief Baron *Edward Willes*, with Barons *Richard Mountney* and *Arthur Dawson*, in the Exchequer.—Chief Justice *Aston*, soon after retired to *England*, where he accepted the place of a puisne Judge: he was succeeded in the Common Pleas here by *R. Clayton*, Esq.

(b) Comm. Journ. Vol. xiv.

moſt ſtrenuous endeavours to obtain a law for that purpoſe. *(a)* All this, however, proved fruitleſs; a bill for that purpoſe was introduced, agreed to, and tranſmitted; but arreſted in its progreſs by the Engliſh Privy Council.—The Houſe of Commons finding the bill was not duly returned, preſented an Addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, praying he would promote its return, if he had not already an aſſurance of it; by laying before his Majeſty the humble but fervent deſires of his ever-faithful Commons, animated and called upon by the univerſal voice of his Majeſty's loyal people of *Ireland*, who conſidered that bill as neceſſary to the preſervation of their fundamental rights, and to the promotion of the Proteſtant religion in this kingdom. To the addreſs his Excellency returned the following anſwer: "I have received information of the moſt authentic nature, that the bill for limiting the duration of Parliaments will not

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(a) The Merchants, Traders, Freeholders and Citizens of Dublin, preſented the following Addreſs to their Repreſentatives:

"GENTLEMEN,

"Having authentic intelligence that the Bill upon which the Proteſtant intereſt, and freedom of this kingdom depend, is dropped in Great Britain; and finding that every attempt made by the Commons of Ireland, ſtrengthened by the united and general voice of all ranks and denominations of Proteſtants, to obtain a law for limiting the duration of Parliaments, has hitherto proved ineffectual, We cannot but think the Commons of this kingdom will ſtand juſtified in following the example given by the Commons of England on a ſimilar occaſion, at the late glorious Revolution, that grand æra of Britiſh Liberty.—We, therefore, as Citizens and Freeholders of this Metropolis, thinking ourſelves bound to ſtand foremoſt in all national meaſures, have taken the earlieſt opportunity to declare our ſentiments upon this moſt intereſting event, and to entreat that you will never give your aſſent to any *Money Bill* of longer duration than three months, 'till a law paſſes in this kingdom for a Septennial Limitation of Parliament.

(Signed by *Wm. Rutledge* and *Richard French*, Eſqrs. High Sheriffs, and upwards of 800 Merchants and Traders.)

not be returned during this Seſſion: I ſhall, however, fully lay before his Majeſty the ſentiments of the Houſe of Commons, contained in this addreſs, and ſhall renew the repreſentations which I have already made, in the ſtrongeſt and warmeſt manner, in favour of ſuch a law."

The Houſe of Commons now determined on an Addreſs to his Majeſty, which was tranſmitted in theſe words:

"Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of *Ireland*, in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your Throne, and with all humility to teſtify our ardent and inviolable attachment to your ſacred Perſon and Government, and to implore that your Majeſty will ſuffer us to preſent to you the univerſal prayers of your loyal people of *Ireland*, in aſſiſtance of the repreſentations and endeavours of the Chief Governor of this kingdom towards inducing your Majeſty, in your Royal beneficence, to return to your moſt faithful ſubjects, the bill tranſmitted to *Great Britain* for limiting the duration of Parliament." His Majeſty was afterwards pleaſed to return the following anſwer;

"His Majeſty has received the Addreſs of the Houſe of Commons, on the ſubject of a bill, ſome time ſince tranſmitted, for limiting the duration of Parliaments. The ſentiments of his faithful Commons, were already known to his Majeſty, by their paſſing the heads of that bill, nor can any ſolicitation add weight to that antient and conſtitutional way of ſignifying their deſires on the like occaſions. His Majeſty will always have the higheſt ſatisfaction in complying with the wiſhes of his faithful Commons; but no conſideration can prevail with his Majeſty to ſwerve from that indiſpenſable duty, which the Conſtitution preſcribes to him, of concurring in ſuch proviſion only, as on mature deliberation, and advice of his Council, appear to him, at the time, calculated

calculated to promote the true intereſt and happineſs of his people." *

A Bill was introduced this Seſſion, " *to prevent the buying and ſelling of offices which concern the adminiſtration of juſtice, or the collection of his Majeſty's revenue;*" but it miſcarried in the Commons. †

The committee appointed to inquire into the cauſes of the inſurrection in the ſouthern part of the kingdom, now reported it as their opinion, " That if a law was paſſed, that any number of perſons aſſembling by night and wilfully and maliciouſly deſtroying any kind of corn, in any manner whatſoever, cutting down, digging up or breaking of trees, levelling walls or ditches, or digging up ground, ſhould be guilty of felony, it would be a means of preventing the like inſurrections for the future."—A Bill for preventing *tumultuous riſings* was therefore paſſed, and received the Royal Aſſent: A Bill likewiſe paſſed for the better regulating of *trials* in caſes of *felony* and *treaſon*.

In 1765, the revenue, although conſiderably increaſed, was yet ſo far ſhort of the expences of Government, that 100,000l. was directed to be raiſed at 4l. per cent. and the principal due upon the different loans, ordered to be conſolidated into one ſum, making in the whole 595,000l. at 5l. per cent. which remained due at Lady-day. The debt of the nation then amounted to 508,874l. 5s. 9½d. There was this year, a great ſcarcity of grain, and what was felt more ſeverely by the lower ranks, a failure of *potatoes*. In

* Comm. Journ. V. xiv.

† Another Bill, for " *The better ſecuring the Liberty of the Subject,*" paſſed in the Commons, and was tranſmitted as uſual; but not returned.

conſequence of which two acts were paſſed: one to ſtop the diſtilleries for a certain time; the natural conſequence of which was, a decreaſe in the exciſe; and the other, to prevent the exportation of corn, which laſt meaſure, according to the ſpeech of the Lord Lieutenant, prevented the calamity of famine.

Amongſt the public occurrences of this time, the fate of a Roman Catholic Clergyman, who had been *implicated* in the *White-boy* diſturbances, drew ſome attention: This was the Rev. *Nicholas Sheehy*, who being accuſed with abetting theſe offenders, was tried for *High Treaſon*, in the Court of King's Bench, 10th Feb. 1765, and acquitted. But being afterwards indicted with ſeveral others for the murder of one *John Bridges*, he was tried for that offence at *Clonmell* the 12th March following; found guilty, and executed. The condemnation of Mr. *Sheehy*, occaſioned great diſſatisfaction and complaint amongſt the Roman Catholics in general; and the proceedings on his trial, (which laſted about ten hours) became the ſubject of much animadverſion. But it muſt be remarked, that what he principally attempted to prove, viz. an *alibi*, is of all defences the moſt hazardous, and if not indiſputably eſtabliſhed, the moſt fatal to a culprit.

It has been aſſerted, that amongſt the twelve perſons of whom the Jury on this trial conſiſted, not one of them died naturally: the fact is not true, in general; but, it is known that ſome of them met with an untimely end. However, it does not ſeem that any inference can be reaſonably drawn from that circumſtance. A perſon of the name of *Meaghan* was alſo convicted of the ſame charge, by another Jury, and executed along with Mr. *Sheehy*. It was attempted at this trial to be proved that *Bridges* had actually left this country, and then reſided in *France*, but there was ſomething contradictory

dictory in the evidence, which deſtroyed its credibility. Indeed it appears to have been a ſettled principle of law, in all caſes of *murder*, that the *death* of the party muſt be *fully proved*, and ſhould be the *firſt* piece of evidence offered on ſuch occaſions.

The Seſſion, which was cloſed in June 1766, * was again opened 20th October 1767. Lord *Townſhend*, then Lord Lieutenant, in his ſpeech informed both Houſes, that as nothing could be more conducive to the honour of the Crown and liberties of the People, than the independency and uprightneſs of the Judges of the land, in the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice; he had it in charge from his Majeſty to recommend this intereſting object to Parliament, that ſuch proviſion might be made for ſecuring the Judges in the enjoyment of their offices and appointments during their good behaviour, as ſhould be thought moſt expedient.

We now arrive at the commencement of an Adminiſtration, which continued far beyond the accuſtomed period, and produced therefore a greater variety of incidents. The Houſe of Commons proceeded to prepare a Bill, for making the Commiſſions of the Judges to continue *quam diu ſe bene geſſerint*. It was accordingly tranſmitted, and returned, but on comparing the Bill returned, with the tranſmiſs, an alteration was diſcovered, which induced the Commons to reject it totally. The nation, however, was highly gratified by the ſucceſs of the long-deſired Bill for limiting the duration of Parliament. A *Septennial* Bill was tranſmitted; it was returned with an alteration in point of time, being changed into an *Octennial* Bill: this, though deſigned for its deſtruction, did not prevent its paſſing into a law, and the Government of Lord *Townſhend* was thus far rendered popular,

* At the concluſion of Lord *Hertford's* Adminiſtration, Chancellor *Bowes*, the Earl of *Drogheda*, and *John Ponſonby*, Eſqrs. were appointed *Lords Juſtices*.—The *Chancellor* died in the Government, on 22d July 1767.

pular, by an act limiting the duration of Parliament to *eight years.*

Whoever conſiders the nature of Parliaments, muſt be convinced, that this was a neceſſary and conſtitutional meaſure. The long duration of Parliaments had become an intolerable grievance, highly prejudicial to the liberty of the ſubject. Great Britain had guarded againſt ſuch an evil, by a Septennial Bill: and ſuch a law was founded in the very ſpirit of the Britiſh Conſtitution.

The people of England were ſo ſenſible of this principle, that in the time of Sir Robert Walpole's Adminiſtration, an attempt was made to repeal the Septennial Bill, and make the duration of Parliaments much ſhorter. The people, (ſaid Sir John St. Aubin on that occaſion) have an unqueſtionable right to frequent new Parliaments by antient uſage; and this uſage has been confirmed by ſeveral laws, which have been progreſſively made by our anceſtors, as often as they found it neceſſary to inſiſt on this eſſential privilege. Parliaments were generally annual, but never continued longer than three years, 'till the remarkable reign of Henry the VIIIth. Charles the *Second*, took a diſlike to Parliaments in the life-time of his father, and became extremely deſirous to lay them aſide: in effect he did ſo, for he obtained a Parliament, which by its long duration, like an army of veterans, became ſo exactly diſciplined to his own meaſures, that they knew no other command, but from that perſon who gave them pay. Hence they obtained the opprobrious name of the *Penſion Parliament.*

At the time of the Revolution, the people made a freſh claim of their antient privileges: and as they had ſo lately experienced the misfortune of long and ſervile Parliaments, it was then declared that they ſhould be held frequently.

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In fact, long Parliaments give the Minister an opportunity of getting acquaintance with the Members, and of practising his several arts to win them into his schemes. For which reason short Parliaments have been much less corrupt; and it has been observed, that like streams of water, they always grow more impure, the greater distance they run from the fountain-head.

The Octennial Bill, being returned, the Commons voted the following Address to his Majesty:

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Commons of *Ireland* in Parliament assembled, beseech your Majesty to accept our unfeigned and grateful acknowledgments, for the condescension which your Majesty has so signally manifested to your subjects of this kingdom, in returning the Bill for limiting the duration of Parliaments, which we consider not only as a gracious mark of paternal Benevolence, but as a wise result of Royal deliberation."

The Bill for regulating the Commissions of Judges, notwithstanding the recommendation in the Lord Lieutenant's speech miscarried, it was prepared and transmitted; but being returned with certain alterations it was (for the present) rejected.

A Message was delivered from the Lord Lieutenant, acquainting the House, that his Majesty required for the public service, that some of the troops on the Irish Establishment should be employed abroad; and that as it might be expedient that a number of troops not less than 12,000 including Officers, should be kept within this kingdom for its better defence, exclusive of such as might be employed elsewhere,

where, his Majeſty thought it neceſſary that his army on this Eſtabliſhment ſhould be augmented to 15,235 men in the whole; of which number 12,000 ſhould be kept in this kingdom, therefore his Excellency had ordered a plan and eſtimate of the charge to be laid before them.—A motion was thereupon made and carried, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Excellency, expreſſing the grateful acknowledgments of that Houſe to his Majeſty for his gracious attention to the defence of this kingdom: and to aſſure his Excellency of the invariable reſolution of that Houſe, to contribute to the utmoſt of their power, and as far as the circumſtances of thoſe they repreſented would admit, to the ſupport of his Majeſty's Government with dignity and honour. At the ſame time to inform his Excellency of the heavy debt of this nation, which the Houſe upon mature deliberation in the preſent Seſſion had conſidered as likely to increaſe in the next two years, by the ordinary expences of the preſent eſtabliſhment only; in conſequence of which opinion, they had lately paſſed an act of credit, to enable Government to borrow a further ſum of 100,000l. and humbly to acquaint his Excellency, that the Houſe, finding the nation at this time, under theſe circumſtances, and not having an opportunity ſo late in the Seſſion, to reconſider the ſtate and reſource of the country, could not give their concurrence to any meaſure which might be attended with a conſiderable additional expence.

A committee was at this time appointed to enquire into the ſtate of the military eſtabliſhment, and alſo into the application of the money granted for its ſupport from 25th March 1751.—And the reſult of this enquiry ſhewed manifeſt miſconduct, as appears from the report at large and the returns thereunto annexed: * part of the report runs thus:

"Your

* See Comm. Journ. Vol. xiv.

"Your committee beg leave to take notice that the entire reduction of the army after the concluſion of the peace, did not take place 'till the latter end of the year 1764, and that it appears from the return of the Quarter-Maſter-General, that there were great deficiencies in the ſeveral regiments then upon the eſtabliſhment, at the ſeveral quarterly muſters comprized in ſaid paper, which precede the month of January 1765; the full pay of ſuch vacancies muſt amount to a very large ſum, and ought as your committee apprehends, to have been returned as a ſaving to the nation, eſpecially as it appeared to your committee, that orders were iſſued by Government, not to recruit the regiments intended to be reduced."—Upon the whole, it was reſolved that an Addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, to lay before him the report of the ſaid committee; to acknowledge his conſtant attention to the welfare of his people; to expreſs the utmoſt confidence in his Majeſty's wiſdom, that if upon ſuch repreſentation any reformation in the ſaid eſtabliſhment ſhould appear neceſſary to his Majeſty, ſuch alteration would be made therein as would *better* provide for the ſecurity of the kingdom, and at the ſame time reduce the expence of the ſaid eſtabliſhment, in ſuch a manner as might be more ſuitable to the circumſtances of the nation.

In conſequence of the Octennial Bill, the Parliament was diſſolved in 1768, and a new one elected.

From what has been ſtated, we have melancholy but indiſputable proof of the impoveriſhed ſtate of the kingdom, oppreſſed as it was at this period, by a rapidly increaſing debt, burthenſome taxes, unneceſſary expences, places and penſions, and evident miſapplication of the public money.—

Under

Under theſe circumſtances, the Repreſentatives of the People made ſome ineffectual efforts for the relief of the country; but the baneful influence of political corruption ſtill prevailed: nor can it be preſumed *that* great deſideratum, the *Octennial Bill*, would have been accompliſhed, had not the public voice ſo ſtrongly ſeconded ſuch Parliamentary exertions as were uſed to obtain it.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

Seſſions in 1769.—*Mr. Ponſonby elected Speaker by the Commons. Act for puniſhing the Heart-of-ſteel-boys.—Money Bill originated in the Privy Council.—Proceedings thereon.—Motion in the Houſe of Lords.—Proteſt.—Libel on the Iriſh Parliament ordered to be burned.—Lord Lieutenant proteſts againſt the Proceedings of the Commons.—His Speech at the cloſe of the Seſſions.—Augmentation of the Army.—State of the Public Accounts in* 1769.

THE Seſſions in 1769 opened with a new Parliament.—*John Ponſonby*, Eſq. was elected *Speaker* to the Houſe of Commons:—Another meſſage was received from the Lord Lieutenant, intimating his Majeſty's deſire that the Military Eſtabliſhment ſhould be augmented.

An act was now paſſed in conſequence of the inſurrection of the *Steel-boys* in the North, the circumſtances of which have been already noticed. This act was not only remarkably ſevere, but conſidered as highly unconſtitutional; a power having thereby been given to try the offenders out of the reſpective counties in which the offences might be committed: And ſo ſtrongly was this proceeding held in deteſtation, that in the very firſt inſtance ſome of the delinqnents who were brought for trial to Dublin, were there acquitted,

to

to the general satisfaction of the public. It was some time afterwards found expedient that this act should be repealed.

Little more was done than the common routine of business during this short Session, which lasted only from 17th October 1769 to 26th December following.—But an attack having been made on the legislative powers of this kingdom, by the origination of a Money Bill in the Privy Council, it was moved in the House of Commons that a Bill, entitled "An act for granting to his Majesty the several duties, rates, impositions and taxes, therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums" should be then read; which being done, it was moved, that the Bill should be read a second time on the day following. This motion was negatived; and it was resolved that such Bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in that House.

It was suspected, that in consequence of this proceeding, the Lord Lieutenant had an intention to enter a protest against it, and therefore a motion was made in the House of Lords, "That the Speaker of this House be desired that no protest, of any person whomsoever, who is not a Lord of Parliament and a Member of this House, and which doth not respect a matter which had been previously in question before this House, and wherein the Lord protesting had taken part with the minority, either in person or by proxy, be entered in the Journals of this House." This motion being negatived, occasioned the following Protest:

DISSENTIENT,

First, "Because we conceive that it is the sole and exclusive right and privilege of a Lord of Parliament and a Member of this House, to have his Protest entered in the Journals of this

this Houſe; and that even a Lord of Parliament and a Member of this Houſe cannot have his Proteſt ſo entered, except upon a matter previouſly in queſtion before this Houſe, wherein the Lord proteſting took part with the minority, either in perſon or by proxy.

Secondly, "Becauſe we conceive that this regulation of the privilege of proteſting ſtands upon the ſame principle, in conſequence of which this privilege hath obtained among the Lords, and not among the Repreſentatives of the People.—The latter, we apprehend, are conſidered by the conſtitution as actuated and juſtified by the ſentiments of thoſe whom they repreſent; whereas the Lords, who act not as deputies but in their own right, are more perſonally reſponſible for their conduct to poſterity. The practice of a permanent juſtification, alſo ſeems to have been deemed a more neceſſary guard upon a body whoſe power was permanent. Hence we conceive the privilege of proteſting aroſe; that a Lord, againſt whom the majority had declared, might have an opportunity of vindicating himſelf to future time, which the original cuſtom of inſerting the name of each Lord in the Journals, with the part he had taken in the queſtion, rendered more neceſſary. And we therefore apprehend, as it would be abſurd for a Lord to juſtify his conduct where he had not acted, that the privilege of proteſting hath been, by reaſon, as well as practice, confined to caſes in which the Lord proteſting had taken a part, and in which, upon queſtion, the majority had been of a different opinion.

Thirdly, "Becauſe we conceive that the Earl of Strafford, who firſt attempted, and that but in a ſingle inſtance, to enter his Proteſt as Chief Governor upon the Journals of this Houſe, was a perſon of ſuch an arbitrary ſpirit, and the times in which he lived of ſo bad an example, and his ſaid Proteſt

Proteſt ſo informal and faulty in itſelf, that ſuch his proceeding ought not to be conſidered as a precedent.

Fourthly, "Becauſe we apprehend that the only ſubſequent inſtance, to wit, the Proteſt of Lord Sidney, which was made in heat by that Governor, whoſe conduct was diſapproved on his recall to England, which ſoon followed, and founded upon the former example, which ought not to have been imitated, was ſtill more irregular and improper; inaſmuch as it related to a matter which had never been before this Houſe, and reſpected the privileges and proceedings of the other Houſe of Parliament.

Fifthly, "Becauſe we conceive it to be peculiarly neceſſary at this time, to expreſs our ſentiments upon this ſubject, when we have reaſon to apprehend that it is intended that a Proteſt be entered upon the Journals of this Houſe, relative to the proceedings and privileges of the other Houſe of Parliament, in imitation of the laſt mentioned Proteſt.

Sixthly, "Becauſe we apprehend that we ought not to ſuffer this diſtinguiſhing privilege of the Lords to be invaded or aſſumed, by any perſon, in whatever ſtation; and that we ought particularly to reſiſt any ſuch attempt, when it may be thought to involve a breach of the privileges of the other Houſe of Parliament alſo, and may therefore be productive of diſſenſion between the two Houſes.

Lowth, Charlemont, Mountmorres,
Powerscourt, Longford.

Notwithſtanding this meaſure, the Lord Lieutenant afterwards went to the Houſe of Lords, and entered his Proteſt upon the Lords' Journals, againſt the proceedings of the Commons, in throwing out the Privy Council Money Bill, alledging their reaſons for ſo doing.

Some

Some very ſcandalous and illiberal paragraphs now appeared in one of the London Papers, reflecting on the proceedings of the Iriſh Parliament, which occaſioned a motion to be made that a Paper, entitled *The Public Adverti ſer*, printed by *H. S. Woodfall*, London, Dec. 9th 1769, might be read. It contained the following words: "Hibernian Patriotiſm is a tranſcript of that filthy Idol worſhipped at the London Tavern; inſolence, aſſumed from an opinion of impunity, uſurps the place which boldneſs againſt real injuries ought to hold. The refuſal of the late Bill, becauſe it was not brought in contrary to the practice of ages, in violation of the Conſtitution, and to the certain ruin of the *dependance* of Ireland upon Great Britain, is a behaviour more ſuiting an army of White-boys, than the grave repreſentatives of a nation." This is the moſt daring inſult that has hitherto been offered to Government. *It muſt be counteracted* with firmneſs, or elſe the State is ruined. Let the *refractory Houſe* be *diſſolved*; ſhould the next copy their example, let it alſo be diſſolved; and if the ſame ſpirit of *ſeditious obſtinacy*, ſhould continue, I know no remedy but *one*, and it is extremely obvious. The Parliament of GREAT BRITAIN *is ſupreme over its conqueſts*, as well as colonies, and the ſervice of the nation muſt not be left undone, on account of the *factious obſtinacy* of a *Provincial Aſſembly*. Let *our* Legiſlature, for they have an *undoubted right*, vote the *Iriſh ſupplies*; and ſo ſave a nation that their own obſtinate repreſentatives endeavour to ruin."

Theſe inſolent paragraphs being read, it was reſolved, that they were a falſe and infamous libel upon the proceedings of that Houſe, a daring invaſion of the rights of Parliament, and calculated to create groundleſs jealouſies between his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland: It was therefore ordered that the ſaid paper ſhould

be

be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. This circumſtance deſerves ſome degree of notice, as it gives us a a ſpecimen of Britiſh ſentiment reſpecting *Ireland* at that time. *

It is not, however, extraordinary, that the publiſher of an *Engliſh Newſpaper* ſhould offer this inſult to the *Iriſh Senate*: inaſmuch as Great Britain laid hold of every opportunity to aſſert its power and ſuperiority over this country. The following inſtance, may be ſelected from other examples, of that nature: At the beginning of the unfortunate conteſt between Great Britain and America, the Britiſh Houſe of Lords, in their Addreſs to his Majeſty on opening the Seſſion of 1768, ſpeak thus—"At the ſame time that we ſhall be always ready to contribute to the relief of any real grievance of your Majeſty's American ſubjects, we moſt unfeignedly give your Majeſty the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that we ſhall ever zealouſly concur in ſupport of ſuch juſt and neceſſary meaſures as may beſt enable your Majeſty to repreſs that daring ſpirit of diſobedience, and to enforce a due ſubmiſſion to the laws: *always conſidering* that it is one of our moſt eſſential duties, to maintain inviolate the *ſupreme authority* of the *Legiſlature* of Great Britain over *every part* of the *dominions of your Majeſty's Crown.*"—The ſpirit which dictated theſe expreſſions, loſt to *Great Britain* her *American Colonies.*

As there was now ſome reaſon to apprehend, that this Seſſion would terminate before the uſual time, the Houſe of Commons reſolved that it was their undoubted privilege to addreſs the Chief Governor, to know whether he had any inſtructions or entertained any intentions to prorogue Parliament at an uſual ſeaſon; an addreſs was therefore agreed to,

* The Commons of Ireland, although in general tenacious of their privilege to originate Money Bills, had not exerciſed it, with ſo much warmth, ſince the reign of William the 3d, in 1692.

to, whereby it was requeſted his Excellency would inform the Houſe whether he had any inſtructions or had any intention to prorogue the preſent Parliament ſooner than uſual.—To which addreſs the following anſwer was returned :

" *Gentlemen,*

" I SHALL be always deſirous of complying with your requeſt when I can do it with propriety. I do not think myſelf authoriſed to diſcloſe his Majeſty's inſtructions to me, upon any ſubject, without having received his Majeſty's commands for ſo doing. With regard to my intentions, they will be regulated by his Majeſty's inſtructions, and *future events.*"

On the 26th December 1769, his Excellency put an end to the Seſſion, and made the following ſpeech :

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" THE attention you have ſhewn to the great objects which have been particularly recommended by me to your conſideration, and the proviſions which have been made for the ſafety and ſecurity of this kingdom, call upon me not only to expreſs my approbation of, but to thank you, as I now do, for your conduct in theſe particulars.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" IT is with great pleaſure that I thank you, in his Majeſty's name, for the ſupplies which you have granted, and the proviſion which you have made, for the preſent eſtabliſhment, the public credit, and the ſafety of this kingdom.

" When

"When I first met you in Parliament, as I knew and could rely upon it, that nothing could move from his Majesty but what would be expressive of his constant and ardent desire to maintain and preserve every constitutional right to his people, I little thought that any thing would happen, during the course of this session, that could possibly affect the just rights of his Majesty, and of the Crown of *Great Britain*, so as to afford his Majesty any just cause of dissatisfaction, and make it necessary for me, specially to assert and vindicate those rights.

"It is therefore with great concern that I have seen and observed, in the Votes and Journals of the House of Commons, printed by your order, a late proceeding by you, of such a nature, and of such effect, with respect to the rights of his Majesty, and the Crown of Great Britain, as to make it necessary for me, on this day, and in this place, to take notice of, and animadvert thereupon; I mean, the vote and resolution of the twenty-first day of November last, by which you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, declare, that a Bill, entitled, An Act for granting to his Majesty the several duties, rates, impositions and taxes, therein particularly expressed, to be applied to the payment of the interest of the sums therein provided for, and towards the discharge of the said principal sums, in such a manner as is therein directed, which had been duly certified from hence to his Majesty, and, by his Majesty, had been transmitted in due form, under the great seal of Great Britain, and which had been read a first time by you, and which was rejected by you on that day, was so rejected, because it did not take its rise in your House.

"This vote, and this resolution of yours, declaring that the said Bill was rejected, because it did not take its rise in your House, being contrary to the acts of Parliament of this kingdom of the 8th of Henry VIIth, and the 3d and 4th of Philip

Philip and Mary, and the uſage and practice ever ſince, and intrenching upon the juſt rights of his Majeſty, and the Crown of Great Britain, to tranſmit ſuch Bills to be treated of and conſidered in Parliament here; I am now to aſſert his Majeſty's Royal Authority, and the rights of the Crown of Great Britain, in this reſpect, and in ſuch a manner as may be moſt public and permanent; and therefore I do here, in full Parliament, make my public Proteſt againſt the ſaid vote and reſolution of the Houſe of Commons, by which you, Gentlemen of that Houſe, declare that the ſaid Bill was rejected by you, becauſe it did not take its riſe in your Houſe, and againſt the entries of the ſaid vote and reſolutions, which remain in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons.

"And I do require the Clerk of this Houſe now to read my ſaid Proteſt, and to enter it in the Journals of this Houſe, that it may there remain to future ages, as a vindication of the undoubted rights and authority of his Majeſty, and of the rights of the Crown of *Great Britain* in this particular.

"In this Proteſt, I think myſelf warranted in all reſpects, and if it need, as I conceive it doth not, any other ſtrength than that it derives from the ſtatutes which I have mentioned, and from the uſage and practice ever ſince, it would be found in that precedent which appears in the Journals of this Houſe of the 3d day of Nov. 1692, under the reign of that glorious and immortal Prince King William the Third, the great deliverer of theſe kingdoms, and the conſtant and magnanimous aſſertor and preſerver of the civil and religious rights of mankind."

The Commons gave orders to the Clerk, that this ſpeech ſhould not be entered on their Journals.

The committee of ſupply, this year, voted an augmentation of the army, whereby it was now increaſed to 15,235 effective men, commiſſion and non-commiſſion officers included. This created expence to the nation, whoſe debt for two years ending Lady-day 1769, amounted to 628,883l. 17s. 10¾d. The penſions during the ſame period amounted to 177,052l. 11s. 5½d. The Parliament, being prorogued in December, did not again meet until 1771. And it is more than probable, that it would have been poſtponed by different prorogations conſiderably longer, had not circumſtances rendered its meeting highly neceſſary.

An addreſs was tranſmitted to his Majeſty from the Corporation of the city of Dublin, under their Common Seal, bearing date 29th October 1770, wherein they humbly inform him, that from ſome defects in the laws relative to corn, flower, and other neceſſaries of life, and in the laws affecting the police of that city, (a ſituation in which they could only be relieved by the meeting of Parliament) his Majeſty's ſubjects there experienced many and great difficulties, and apprehended yet greater; and therefore beſought his Majeſty to grant them ſuch relief as in his Royal wiſdom he ſhould think fit.

CHAP.

CHAPTER V.

Session in 1771.—Mr. Ponsonby's resignation as Speaker.—Motion for an Address to his Majesty on the State of Affairs.—Proceedings in the British Parliament relative to Ireland.—Protest of the Lords during the former Session.—Committee appointed to take into Consideration the Linen Trade, &c.—Proceedings thereupon.—Death of Dr. Lucas.—Conclusion of Lord Townshend's Administration.—Observations on Poyning's Law.

THE new Session commenced 26th February 1771, at which time the Lord Lieutenant observed in his speech, that the then high price of corn was an object of the first importance and demanded the most serious attention; at the same time he recommended the continuance or revival of such laws as should be found to be immediately necessary for the general good of this country. Addresses were passed as usual to his Majesty by both Houses, and also to the Lord Lieutenant; and the Commons in their Address to the former, acknowledged with the most perfect submission, that they were ever tenacious of the honour of granting supplies to his Majesty, and of being the first movers therein, as they were the voluntary tribute of grateful hearts to the best of Monarchs; and they most humbly besought his Majesty that he would not permit their zeal in this particular to be construed into an invasion of his Royal Authority,

than which nothing was more distant from their thoughts. They likewise returned their most humble thanks to his Majesty for continuing his Excellency Lord *Townshend* in the Government of this kingdom.

In consequence of these Addresses agreed to by the Commons, the *Speaker* wrote the following letter, which was communicated to that House :

"*To the Honourable the House of Commons of Ireland.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"When I had the honour of being unanimously elected to the Chair of the House of Commons, I entered on that high office full of the warmest sentiments of loyalty to his Majesty, and firm determination to dedicate my whole endeavours to preserve and transmit to my successor, inviolate, the rights and privileges of the Commons of *Ireland*. But on the last day of the last Session of Parliament, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant was pleased to accuse the Commons of a great crime, which I am confident was far from their intentions, as it ever was, and ever shall be far from mine, that of intrenching upon his Majesty's Royal power and authority, and the just and undoubted rights of the Crown of *Great Britain*; and as it has pleased the *House of Commons* to take the first opportunity after this transaction, of testifying their approbation of his Excellency, by voting him an Address of Thanks this Session; and as the delivery of such approbation to his Excellency is incidental to the office of *Speaker*, I beg leave to inform you, that as such thanks seem to me to convey a censure of the proceedings, and a relinquishment of the privileges of the Commons, my respect to them must prevent my being the instrument of

of delivering ſuch Addreſs; and therefore I requeſt you may elect another *Speaker*, who may not think ſuch conduct inconſiſtent with his honour. *

" I am, Gentlemen, your moſt obliged,

" And moſt humble Servant,

" JOHN PONSONBY, *Speaker*."

The Commons having hereupon proceeded to elect a new Speaker, *Edmond Sexton Pery*, Eſq. (afterwards created Lord *Pery*) was appointed in the room of Mr. *Ponſonby*, whoſe ſurrender evinced the dignity of his ſpirit and the purity of his principles.

The internal ſituation of affairs, during this Seſſion, may be diſcovered from the following motion, which was made 13th May 1771, in the Commons, viz.: " That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, expreſſing that his faithful *Commons of Ireland* have been always moſt ready to repoſe the utmoſt truſt in the perſons employed in high authority under his Majeſty; that therefore his faithful Commons did confidently hope, that a law for ſecuring the independency of the Judges of this kingdom would have paſſed; ſuch a law having been recommended, *and promiſed* by his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant in the ſpeech from the Throne, in the firſt Seſſion of his Excellency's *Government*. That in like manner, his Excellency having recommended to this Houſe, in his ſpeech from the Throne, this preſent Seſſion of Parliament, an attention to the high price of corn; his Majeſty's faithful *Commons* did flatter themſelves that the tillage of this kingdom would have received encourrgement, but that on the contrary, in a Seſſion profeſſedly

* Comm. Journ. Vol. xiv.

feſſedly called for the making and renewing uſeful laws, his Majeſty's *Commons* have the unſpeakable grief to find, that two laws heretofore enacted, and tranſmitted this Seſſion, in order to be continued and revived, the one for the benefit of tillage, and for the reſtraining of diſtilleries, the other for a bounty on the carriage of corn coaſtways, have not been returned, though calculated to meet and correſpond with the wiſhes of Government expreſſed from the Throne, reſpecting that important article to the community; whereby this kingdom hath been debarred of two uſeful laws, the ſalutary effects of which it had formerly experienced, and which the preſent circumſtances of this country, and the morals of the people, peculiarly require. That the ſuppreſſion of theſe Bills, and the unexpected alteration of others, whereby the hopes of this country, founded in the declarations of his Majeſty's ſervants here, have been fruſtrated, tend to weaken the confidence of the public in his Majeſty's Miniſters, ſo eſſential to the dignity of the Crown, and to the happineſs of the ſubject. That both public and private credit are in a very low ſtate. That Government ſecurities, which uſed to bear a conſiderable premium, cannot now be circulated at *par*. That money can ſcarcely be obtained, and the price of land is falling. That theſe circumſtances cannot fail to be attended by melancholy and anxious apprehenſions, in the moſt loyal of his Majeſty's ſubjects. And humbly imploring that his Majeſty will be graciouſly pleaſed to take ſuch ſteps for the remedy thereof, as his Majeſty's Royal wiſdom and benignity ſhall ſuggeſt." This motion, however, was negatived, though it certainly contained a true ſtatement of facts.

The *Commons*, however, in this Seſſion, wiſely turned their attention to œconomy, and refuſed to make proviſions for certain penſions, which had been granted to individuals. They diſcovered groſs errors in the public accounts, on which

which they arraigned and condemned the Exciſe Board, and ſpiritedly reſolved that the abilities and eſſential intereſts of the nation ſhould be the meaſures of the ſupply. But, notwithſtanding theſe virtuous efforts, (ſays Mr. *Mullalla*) the national debt was increaſing, and taxes accumulating to an enormous extent; the country was alſo illiberally reſtricted in every branch of its commerce, a meaſure ruinous to *Ireland*, and really ſerviceable to the rivals, if not the enemies of *Great Britain*. * This latter circumſtance afterwards induced the *Speaker* upon preſenting the Money Bills in 1772, to declare, that he "hoped the Commons would not only be entitled to his Majeſty's countenance and protection, but to an *extenſion of their commerce*, by which alone they could entertain any reaſonable expectation of being able much longer to ſupport the expence of the eſtabliſhments." †

The augmentation of the army, which has been already noticed, made it neceſſary now to order, that 200,000l. ſhould be borrowed to make good that expence. The amount of *Penſions* had increaſed, and the national debt at Lady-day 1771, amounted to ~~2,2,2,4,7,1. 3s. 9d.~~ £779,820

It may be proper here to obſerve that the oppoſition given to the meaſures of Adminiſtration during the laſt two years, particularly with reſpect to the rejected Money Bill in 1769, did not fail to draw the attention even of the *Britiſh* Parliament, where in conſequence of the prorogation of the Iriſh Parliament on that occaſion, a motion was made by a Member of the Houſe of Commons, "That the inſtructions to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by which he prorogued the Parliament, might be laid before that Houſe." This motion was not only ſeconded, but propoſed to be extended,

* View of Iriſh Affairs, &c. Vol. 2d. † Comm. Jour. Vol. xv.

by moving that all the papers relative to the Iriſh Augmentation Bill, ſhould be laid before them.

In the debates upon this ſubject, many parts of the late conduct of Government, in the adminiſtration of the affairs of this country, underwent the ſevereſt ſtrictures. It was ſaid, that having cajoled the Parliament of Ireland out of a large ſum of money, for the purpoſes of a military augmentation in a time of profound peace, and having thought it perfectly conſtitutional then, to receive it from the repreſentatives of the people; the money was no ſooner received, than they abridged the right of the Commons in granting it, and inſiſted that the money bills belonged entirely to the Privy Council: that admitting for a moment their own principle, Government had not a right to take the money, if Parliament had not a right to give it, and they ſhould either refuſe the ſupply, or have acquieſced in the legality of the grant. That the more the conduct of adminiſtration in this reſpect was examined, the more it would be found perplexed, inconſiſtent, and tyrannical: the Deputy, having obtained the money, returns thanks to the two Houſes for their liberality, and after he has politely complimented their munificence, he enters a Proteſt upon the Journals of the Lords, and informs the whole world that they were not authorized to exert it.

That the laws of Great Britain had been violated, and its dignity ſacrificed, to deceive their fellow-ſubjects in the ſiſter nation out of their property; for that the promiſe which the Chief Governor had made to the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, to induce them to conſent to the augmentation, viz. that 12,000 men ſhall be conſtantly ſtationed among them, was not only giving up the prerogative of the Crown, but was alſo directly repugnant to two Engliſh ſtatutes, by which the

* It muſt be obſerved, that the rejected Bill provided only for the expenditure of three months; but the Commons paſſed a Bill which provided for the expences of two years, and the ſupply granted amounted to 2,168,6811

the *disposition* as well as the command, of all the land and sea forces, are made inherent in the Crown; but that by this promise, the spirit and obvious meaning of these laws is defeated, and the disposal of the 12,000 troops is not virtually in the Sovereign, but actually in the Irish Parliament. That in whatever light this matter was considered, whether as diminishing the Royal Prerogative for the purpose of artifice, or defeating the design of English Acts of Parliament, for the shameful end of deluding the fellow-subjects in Ireland out of a supply, in either case it was a matter that merited the strictest enquiry.

It was contended, that the law called Poyning's is no authority for this violent procedure. THAT law gives to the Privy Council the privilege of certifying Parliamentary Bills to this kingdom; but the privilege of certifying, by no means includes the just authority of originating.

The conduct of a ministerial officer, who had declared in the Irish House of Commons, that the Privy Council Money Bill was a fine for the renewal of Parliament, was severely animadverted upon. It was said, that this was an avowal of oppression and despotism in the extreme; that it was at once laying by the mask, and confidently telling the subject, that he shall not possess his absolute right, unless he pays the Minister for indulging him with it.

Upon the whole, it was said, that they were called upon by every motive, to enquire into the causes of the present deplorable state of their sister and neighbouring island, and as they were endowed with a coercive power over Ministers in every part of the British dominions, to give that redress to the people of Ireland which their own Parliament could not grant; and that they were even led by their interest to pursue those measures, which were at the same time evidently dictated by their justice.

On

On the other ſide, the neceſſity of preſerving a due ſubordination in every part of the empire was enlarged upon; that a controling power muſt be lodged ſomewhere; that the vaſt body of the Britiſh territories cannot ſubſiſt without a head; and that it is fitter for the varions dependencies, which England had protected for ſo long a ſeries of years, to obey her laws, than for Ireland to think of dictating to their protectors. That it is amuſing as well as ſurpriſing, to ſee the very meaſures which are taken for maintaining the authority of Great Britain, pointed out by the oppoſition, as a degradation of their honour, and a ſacrifice of the royal prerogative.

That the reaſon of the Parliamentary prorogation, was the ſolicitude of the very Miniſters who are now reviled, to preſerve the dependence of Ireland upon Great Britain.—That the Iriſh Houſe of Commons entered into reſolutions contrary to Poyning's law; into reſolutions which conſequently ſhook the foundation of Britiſh authority over Ireland, and therefore the Parliament was prorogued; and that the manner of the prorogation was warranted no leſs by precedent, than juſtified by reaſon. That the prorogation was unavoidable, and the Miniſter would highly merit an impeachment, if he had not urged the expediency and neceſſity of it.

That the charge of violating the laws of England, and relinquiſhing the royal prerogative, by the promiſe given to the Iriſh Parliament, was equally groundleſs. That the Crown has, certainly, a right of diſpoſing of the land and ſea force as it pleaſes; and the Crown, therefore, ſtations 12,000 men conſtantly in Ireland, agreeable to this right; yet the exerciſe of the right, and the actual execution of the Engliſh laws, is now ſaid to be repugnant to two Engliſh Acts of Parliament, and a relinquiſhment of the royal prerogative.

That

That great complaint having been made, that among the other laws of public utility, which had expired in Ireland, in conſequence of the late prorogation, the tax upon hawkers and pedlars, which was appropriated to the ſociety for the building and maintaining of Proteſtant Charter Schools, had alſo ceaſed, by which that excellent inſtitution would be totally and irretrievably ruined; the Miniſter, upon this occaſion, had pledged himſelf, that any loſs reſulting to the incorporated ſociety from that meaſure, ſhould be made good from the privy purſe.

Though the motion was not carried, it ſhews the light in which the affairs of this country were viewed by many reſpectable characters in the Parliament of Great Britain.—Several Members of the Houſe of Lords in Ireland, at this time, alſo expreſſed their diſapprobation of that part of the Addreſs of that Houſe, returning thanks to his Majeſty for continuing Lord Townſhend in the Viceroyalty, and the following Proteſt was entered:

"DISSENTIENT,

Firſt, "Becauſe the repeated proofs we have of his Majeſty's paternal tenderneſs towards his people convince us, that a miſrepreſentation of his faithful Commons could alone have determined his Royal Breaſt to exert his undoubted prerogative of proroguing his Parliament, at a criſis when the expiration of laws, eſſential to the well-being of this kingdom, ſeemed peculiarly to point out the moſt urgent demand for the aſſiſtance of the Legiſlature; at a time when the Commons had given a recent efficacious teſtimony of their unremitting zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice by voting an augmentation of his Majeſty's forces, a meaſure which had been repreſented to Parliament as highly acceptable to the King; at a ſeaſon too when the ſuddenneſs of this unexpected mark of Royal diſpleaſure rendered its conſequences

almoſt

almoſt irretrievably fatal to the nation, inſomuch that we ſee, with the deepeſt concern, an extraordinary deficiency in his Majeſty's revenue, proceeding from the declining ſtate of our credit, trade, and manufactures, thereby occaſioned.

Secondly, "Becauſe the unbounded confidence we repoſe in his Majeſty's inviolate regard to the fundamental principles of the Conſtitution aſſures us, that the attempt which has been lately made to infringe that balance indefeaſibly inſeparable from its very formation, by entering upon the Journals of this Houſe a Proteſt, animadverting upon the proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, was the reſult of pernicious counſels, inſidiouſly calculated to alienate the affections of the moſt loyal ſubjects from the moſt amiable of Princes; an opinion in which we conceive ourſelves by ſo much the better founded, as this unconſtitutional extenſion is unprecedented, ſave only in one inſtance, which was followed by the juſt diſapprobation of the Sovereign, teſtified by the immediate removal of the Chief Governor. We further conceive, that, as the conſtitution of this kingdom is, in reſpect to the diſtinct departments of the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons, one and the ſame with that of Great Britain, we ſhould depart, not only from our duty to our King, and to this our country, but likewiſe from that which we owe to Great Britain, if in our high capacity, of hereditary great Council of Ireland to the Crown, we ſhould acquieſce under an attempt, which manifeſtly tends to ſubvert that reciprocal independence of the three eſtates, which is the baſis of its ſecurity.

Thirdly, "Becauſe the juſtice and piety which ſhine conſpicuous in our Sovereign as well in his domeſtic life as on the Throne, do not ſuffer us to ſuppoſe, that the diſmiſſion of truſty Nobles and Commoners from his Majeſty's Privy Council (the former only becauſe they made a juſt exerciſe

of

of their hereditary birth-right as Peers of the Realm, the latter on account only of their Parliamentary conduct) can have proceeded from the truly informed intention of ſo great and good a Prince.

Fourthly, "Becauſe a moderation, firmneſs, conſiſtency, a due diſtinctive regard to all ranks of perſons, a regular ſyſtem of adminiſtration, being, as we conceive, indiſpenſably requiſite to the ſupport and dignity of Government, and to the conduct of his Majeſty's affairs, we cannot, without violation of truth and juſtice, return thanks to the King for continuing a Chief Governor, who, in contempt of all forms of buſineſs, and rules of decency heretofore reſpected by his predeceſſors, is actuated only by the moſt arbitrary caprice, to the detriment of his Majeſty's intereſt, to the injury of this oppreſſed country, and to the unſpeakable vexation of perſons of every condition.

"Leinster, Louth, Powerscourt,
"Lisle, Shannon, Longford,
"Baltinglass, Lanesborough,
"Molesworth, Mornington,
"Bective, Moira, Mountcashell,
"Charlemont, Bellamont."

The Iriſh Parliament again met purſuant to prorogation on the 8th of October 1771. The Addreſs of the Commons to his Majeſty contained the uſual expreſſions of approbation for the continuance of the Viceroy, and of affection to their Sovereign, and obſerved with concern the illegal aſſociations and outrages ſtill committed in this kingdom, particularly in ſome places in the *North*. To the Addreſs this amendment was propoſed, but negatived—"That we are ready, with our lives and fortunes to ſupport his Majeſty's Crown and dignity. That our hope for redreſs where we are aggrieved, is founded in his Majeſty's paternal benevolence.

lence. To pour out our unfeigned thanks to his Majeſty for the bleſſings we derive from his auſpicious reign, and with hearts flowing with attachment to his Perſon and Family, to lament that we cannot without miſinforming our Sovereign, enumerate amongſt thoſe bleſſings, the continuance of his Excellency Lord *Townſhend* in the Government of this kingdom." Several other amendments and alterations were ineffectually propoſed ; there was a majority ſufficient to ſupport the meaſures of Adminiſtration, and every effort on behalf of the country was made in vain.

It was, however, reſolved, That it was then neceſſary to declare, that the condition of this kingdom required that all practicable retrenchment ſhould be made in its expences, conſiſtent with the true intereſt of this kingdom and the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's Government.

The Lord Lieutenant now informed Parliament that he had received his Majeſty's letters appointing certain perſons therein named to the number of *five*, to be Commiſſioners of *Exciſe*, and certain other perſons to the number of *ſeven* to be Commiſſioners of *Cuſtoms*.

A committee was appointed this Seſſion to take into conſideration the ſtate and management of the linen manufacture in this kingdom, and as the following extracts from papers laid before them, ſhew not only the ſtate of this kingdom at that period reſpecting its linen trade, but alſo the conduct of England toward this country at, and ſubſequent to, the *Revolution*, the reader will excuſe their being given ſo much at large.

A Repreſentation of the Progreſs of the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland, and her Title to Encouragement and Precedence in theſe Manufactures :

This

This kingdom has been poſſeſſed of an export trade in the linen and hempen manufactures upwards of two hundred years, as appears by acts of Parliament, and exiſting records, and probably from a much earlier period. *Vide* 1.

This country has been alſo poſſeſſed of an export trade, in the woollen manufacture for the ſame time, until reſtrained therein, for the following conſiderations, in 1698. *Vide* 2.

The firſt formal overture to this kingdom, for relinquiſhing the woollen trade (except in ſome lower branches) and attaching itſelf to the linen, that it might not interfere with the trade of *England*, was made by Sir *William Temple*, in an Eſſay written at the requeſt of Lord *Eſſex*, then Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, dated *Dublin*, 22d *July*, 1673; wherein he mentions the ſuperior fitneſs of this country for the linen manufacture, and the advantage that would ariſe to both kingdoms, from making this iſland the ſeat of that fabric. *Vide* 3.

Had Sir *William Temple* conſidered the linen and hempen manufactures as a trade in the poſſeſſion of *England*, or ſo well adapted to it as the woollen, he could not have recommended to *Ireland* to relinquiſh the latter, and adopt the former, to the prejudice of the ſtaple of *England*.

This propoſition was taken up by the Parliament of *England*, in 1698, with a poſitive promiſe, on the part of the King, Lords, and Commons of *England*, to give all poſſible encouragement to the linen and hempen manufactures in *Ireland*, without any reſtriction or limitation whatſoever. *Vide* 4.

In the ſpeech from the Throne to the *Iriſh* Parliament, 27th *September*, 1698. The adoption of the linen and hempen in preference to the woollen manufacture, is ſtrongly recommended and enforced. *Vide* 5.

In

In anſwer to this ſpeech, both Houſes agreed that they would apply their attention to the linen and hempen manufactures, and in conſequence they paſſed a law this Seſſions, impoſing a tax on *Iriſh* woollen manufactures exported, amounting to a prohibition (frize excepted); the exportation of which hath been ſince prohibited. *Vide* 6.

The diſtreſs which *Ireland* ſuffered immediately by this diſcouragement, and, in effect, ſuppreſſion of her woollen trade, the deſertion of her woollen manufactures, and the fatal conſequences which ſhe experienced therefrom, are notorious. *Vide* 7.

Subſequent to 1698, *Ireland*, after a long ſtruggle, oppoſed by the eſtabliſhed linen trade of *Germany*, *Holland* and *France*, then in full poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* market, (and at an enormous expence to the public) made a conſiderable progreſs in the linen and hempen manufactures, when the hempen manufactures received a fatal check, 23 *Geo.* II. by a tax on ſail-cloth, made of *Iriſh* hemp. *Vide* 8.

The linen manufacture has ſince received a conſiderable wound, by the bounty granted on cheques, &c. and ſhould that bounty be increaſed to three-half-pence per yard, it would be fatal in its operation to the linen manufacture of *Ireland*, as it would give an advantage of upwards of 30l. per cent. on linen yarn to manufacturers in *Britain*, over manufacturers in *Ireland*. *Vide* 9.

A bounty on cottons would not only operate againſt the linen manufacture, but the woollen manufacture of *England* alſo.

Thus it appears, that for want of information, and by the error of ſubſequent Parliaments, *Ireland* hath not received

ceived as much encouragement in the linen and hempen manufactures as was solemnly promised in 1698, by the King, Lords and Commons of *England*, and was purchased by valuable consideration, at that period, on the part of *Ireland*, by detaching herself from the woollen manufacture, whilst she hath been still farther restrained in the woollen manufacture than was even desired in 1698, having been deprived of the export of frize.

The bounties also granted in *Great Britain*, on the exportation of *British* and *Irish* linens therefrom, are mistaken as to their operation, being in effect a premium in part on *British* linens, to the disadvantage of the linen manufactures of *Ireland*; for the whole bounty is received without deduction on *British* linens, whereas, in respect of *Irish* linens, they suffer the deduction of freight, factorage, risk, interest, and other contingencies. *Vide* 10.

The duties and bounties stated in the 1st and 3d propositions, in a Paper, entitled, *Thoughts on the British Manufacture*, would encourage an illicit trade, as by that Paper the whole duty payable on foreign linen, would amount to about 40l. per cent. and the general bounty on exportation of linen about 12l. per cent. which put together, would be 52l. per cent. in favour of smugglers to introduce foreign linens, and pass them as home-made linens on exportation.

It is agreed, that a new valuation of all foreign linens ought to take place, and a regulation to be ascertained of the duties payable on the import of them, either *ad valorem*, or in such other mode as to give sufficient advantage to the home manufacture in the *British* market; and also, that such measures be taken, as if possible to remove the discouragement on our exports to *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c. it being

notorious that our linens pay 14l. per cent. on their import into *Spain*, whilſt the *French* pay only 4l. per cent. *Vide* 11.

It is obvious, from the ſlow progreſs of the linen and hempen manufactures for many years after the Revolution, that no encouragements can immediately eſtabliſh a manufacture, and it is as obvious, that one imprudent act may defeat the progreſs of half a century; as appears by the operation of the Statutes 13 Queen *Elizabeth* and 23 *Geo.* II. againſt ſail-cloth made of *Iriſh* hemp.

Ireland poſſeſſes advantages for carrying on the linen and hempen manufactures, ſuperior to any part of the *Britiſh* dominions, in cheapneſs of labour, fuel, convenience of rivers for mills and bleach-yards, and the fitneſs of the ſoil for raiſing hemp and flax.

As the laws of *Britain* are now conſtituted, *Ireland* has been confined to the linen manufacture, and circumſcribed even in that; how far the firſt is agreeable to policy, or the compact, is ſubmitted. But it ſeems to be univerſally agreed, that it would be more for the intereſt of *Great Britain* to promote and encourage, as far as poſſible, the linen trade of *Ireland*, rather than in any ſhape whatſoever to circumſcribe or reſtrain it.

Upon the whole we are of opinion, that it would be more advantageous to *Great Britain* and to *Ireland*, that no foreign linen, imported into *Great Britain*, ſhould be entitled to any drawback whatſoever on exportation; and we alſo apprehend, the levying any duties, or tax, upon the exportation of cheques, ſtained linens, or ſail-cloth from *Ireland*, is ſo far an infringement of that general encouragement promiſed to us, on our relinquiſhing the woollen trade. We therefore moſt earneſtly deſire, that if it ſhall be thought proper by

by the *Britiſh* Parliament, to give any bounties whatſoever, in favour of the *Britiſh* manufacturer of linen, of any ſort, ſuch bounty may be fully extended to *Ireland*, and ſo far increaſed as to put the *Iriſh* manufacturer on a par with the *Britiſh* manufacturer, which is not now the caſe, as the *Iriſh* manufacturer, on account of diſtance, freight, factorage, and other expences, cannot bring his goods to market on equal terms with the *Britiſh* manufacturer.

By Order of the Truſtees of the
Linen Manufacture of *Ireland*,
BROGHILL NEWBURGH, Sec.

Linen-Office, *Dublin-Caſtle*,
28*th May*, 1771.

No. 1. In 1542, the 33d of *Hen.* VIII. linen, and linen and woollen yarn, were enumerated among the moſt conſiderable branches of trade poſſeſſed by the natives of *Ireland*, in an act made againſt grey merchants foreſtalling.

The 11th of Queen *Elizabeth*, the ſame act was revived, and a further law made againſt watering hemp or flax, &c. in rivers.

The 13th of *Elizabeth*, all perſons were prohibited from exporting wool, flax, linen, and woollen yarn, except merchants reſiding in cities and boroughs; and by a further act, the ſame year, a penalty of 12d. per pound was impoſed on all flax or linen yarn exported, and 8d. more for the uſe of the town exported from. In this laſt act it is recited, that the merchants of *Ireland* had been exporters of thoſe articles in trade upwards of one hundred years, preceding that period; and by many ſubſequent acts and proclamations, during the reigns of *Charles* the Firſt and Second, thoſe manufactures were particularly attended to.

Hence it is obvious, that hemp, flax, linen, and woollen yarn, were native commodities produced in such abundance, as to supply the spinners and manufacture, and spare considerable quantities to export at that early period.

From the best estimation that can be made, the quantity of flax imported into *Ireland* in 1722, being about 108 tons, was not more than a 25th part of the quantity used in the linen manufacture for home consumption and exportation at that time and in six years, ending the 25th *March* 1770: the medium quantity of flax imported yearly, was about 460 tons; which compared with the increase of the manufacture for home consumption and exportation, was not more than a thirtieth part of the flax used during those six years; and there is a probability of the quantity of material imported being totally supplied, for the future, by the particular attention of the Linen Board to the cultivation of flax, as an addition of about 1400 acres of ground, plantation measure, properly tilled for flax, will produce a quantity equal to the present deficiency.

No. 2. By the severity of the penalties on the exportation of flax and linen yarn, the 13th of *Elizabeth*: The inhabitants being used only to make linens 14 inches broad, a manufacture peculiar to *Ireland*, and not in demand for exportation, were compelled to detach themselves from that branch of trade, and pursue the woollen, in which they had made so considerable a progress before 1673, as to induce the manufacturers of *England* to fear they might become rivals in their staple trade of woollen.

No. 3. Sir *William Temple*, speaking of the woollen and linen manufactures of *Ireland* expresses himself thus: "The "improvement of this (the wool of *Ireland*) commodity by "manufactories in this kingdom, would give so great a

"damp

" damp to the trade of *England*, (of which cloths, ſtuffs, and " ſtockings made ſo mighty a part) that it ſeems not fit to be " encouraged here, at leaſt no farther than ſuch a quantity " of one or two ſummer ſtuffs, *Iriſh* frize, and cloth, from " ſix ſhillings to fourteen, as may ſupply in ſome meaſure " the ordinary conſumption of the kingdom.

" The ſoil produces flax kindly and well, and fine too, " anſwerable to the care uſed in choice of ſeed, and exerciſe " of huſbandry.

" And this may certainly be advanced and improved into " a great manufacture of linen, ſo as to beat down the trade " both of *France* and *Holland*, and draw much of the money " which goes from *England* to thoſe parts, upon this occaſion, " into the hands of his Majeſty's ſubjects of *Ireland*, without " croſſing any intereſt of trade in *England*; for beſides what " what has been ſaid of flax and ſpinning, the ſoil and cli- " mate are proper for whitening, both by the frequency of " brooks, and alſo of winds in the country." And further obſerves,

" But after all theſe, or ſuch like proviſions, there are but " two things which can make any extraordinary advance in " this branch of trade; and thoſe are, firſt *, an increaſe " of people in the country to ſuch a degree, as may make " things neceſſary to life dear, and thereby force general in- " duſtry from each member of a family (women as well as " men) and in as many ſorts, as they can well turn to, which " among others may, in time, come to turn the vein this " way. The ſecond is a particular application in the Go-

 " vernment,

* By the beſt calculation that could be made of the inhabitants in 1695, when there was a Poll Tax, they were about One Million, and at this preſent time, they are eſtimated about Two Millions and a Half.

" vernment, either by ſome Governor on his own private " account (as he inſtances in the Earl of *Strafford*'s deſign) " or elſe by a conſiderable ſum of money being laid aſide, " either out of his Majeſty's preſent revenue, or ſome future " ſubſidy to be granted for this occaſion, and this either to " be employed in ſetting up ſome great linen manufacture, " in ſome certain place, and to be managed by ſome certain " hands, both for making all ſorts of fine cloths, and of " thoſe for ſails too, the benefit or loſs of ſuch a trade ac- " cruing to the Government, until it comes to take root in " the nation, or elſe, if this ſeems too great an undertaking " for the humour of our age, then ſuch a ſum of money to " be ready in hands, appointed by the Government, for " taking off, at common moderate prices, all ſuch pieces of " cloth, as ſhall be brought in by any perſons, at certain " times, to the chief town of each county: And all ſuch " pieces of cloth as are fit for ſails, to be carried into the " ſtores of the navy; all that are fit for the uſe of the army, " to be given the ſoldiers (as clothes are) in part of their pay; " and all finer pieces to be ſold, and the money ſtill applied " to the increaſe or conſtant ſupply of the main ſtock."

No. 4. *Die Jovis, 9 Junij*, 1698.

The Earl of *Stamford* reported from the Lords Committees (appointed to draw an Addreſs to be preſented to his Majeſty, relating to the Woollen Manufacture in *Ireland*) the following Addreſs, viz.:

We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament aſſembled, do humbly repreſent unto your Majeſty, that the growing manufacture of cloth in *Ireland*, both by the cheapneſs of all ſorts of neceſſaries for life, and goodneſs of materials for making of all manner of cloth, doth invite your ſubjects of *England*, with their families and ſervants, to leave their habitations to ſettle there, to the increaſe of the woollen

len manufacture in *Ireland*, which makes your loyal ſubjects in this kingdom very apprehenſive, that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the ſaid manufacture here, by which the trade of this nation and the value of lands will very much decreaſe, and the number of your people be much leſſened here: wherefore, We do moſt humbly beſeech your moſt ſacred Majeſty, that your Majeſty would be pleaſed, in the moſt public and effectual way that may be, to declare to all your ſubjects of *Ireland*, That the growth and increaſe of the woollen manufacture there, hath long, and will ever be looked upon with great jealouſy, by all your ſubjects of this kingdom, and if not timely remedied, may occaſion very ſtrict laws, totally to prohibit and ſuppreſs the ſame; and on the other hand, if they turn their induſtry and ſkill to the ſettling and improving the linen manufacture, for which generally the lands of that kingdom are very proper, they ſhall receive all countenance, favour and protection from your Royal influence, for the encouragement and promoting of the ſaid linen manufacture, to all the advantage and profit of which that kingdom can be capable.

To which the Houſe agreed.

It is ordered, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, that the Lords with white Staves do humbly attend his Majeſty with the Addreſs of this Houſe, concerning the Woollen Manufacture of *Ireland*.

Die Veneris, 10 *Junij*, 1698.

The Lord Steward reported his Majeſty's anſwer to the addreſs, to this effect, viz.:

"That his Majeſty will take care to do what their Lord-"ſhips have deſired."

ASHLEY COWPER, Clk. Par.

Die Jovis, 30 Junij, 1698.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons in Parliament aſſembled, being very ſenſible that the wealth and power of this kingdom do, in a great meaſure, depend on the preſerving the woollen manufacture, as much as poſſible, entire to this realm, think it becomes us, like our anceſtors, to be jealous of the eſtabliſhment and increaſe thereof elſewhere, and to uſe our utmoſt endeavours to prevent it.

And therefore we cannot, without trouble, obſerve, that *Ireland* which is dependent on, and protected by *England*, in the enjoyment of all they have; and which is ſo proper for the linen manufacture, the eſtabliſhment and growth of which there, would be ſo enriching to themſelves, and ſo profitable to *England*; ſhould of late apply itſelf to the woollen manufacture, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and ſo unwillingly promote the linen trade, which would benefit them and us.

The conſequence whereof will neceſſitate your Parliament of *England* to interpoſe, to prevent the miſchief that threatens us, unleſs your Majeſty, by your authority and great wiſdom, ſhall find means to ſecure the trade of *England*, by making your ſubjects in *Ireland* to purſue the joint intereſt of both kingdoms.

And we do moſt humbly implore your Majeſty's protection and favour in this matter; and that you will make it your Royal care, and enjoin all thoſe you employ in *Ireland*, to make it their care, and uſe their utmoſt diligence, to hinder the exportation of wool from *Ireland*, except to be imported hither,

hither, and for the diſcouraging the woollen manufactures, and encouraging the linen manufactures in *Ireland*, to which we ſhall always be ready to give our utmoſt aſſiſtance.

Reſolved, that the ſaid Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty by the whole Houſe.

Sabbati, 2 *Die Julii*, 1698. *Decimo Gulielmi IIItii.*

His MAJESTY's Anſwer:

GENTLEMEN,

I SHALL do all that in me lies to diſcourage the woollen manufacture in *Ireland*, and to encourage the linen manufacture there; and to promote the trade of *England*.

No. 5. *Tueſday*, 27*th September*, 1698.

Part of the Lords Juſtices Speech:

Amongſt theſe Bills, there is one for the encouragement of the linen and hempen manufactures. At our firſt meeting, we recommended to you that matter, and we have now endeavoured to render that Bill practicable and uſeful for that effect, and as ſuch we now recommend it to you. The ſettlement of this manufacture will contribute much to people the country, and will be found much more advantageous to this kingdom than the woollen manufacture, which being the ſettled ſtaple trade of *England*, from whence all foreign markets are ſupplied, can never be encouraged here for that purpoſe; whereas the linen and hempen manufactures will not only be encouraged, as conſiſtent with the trade of *England*, but will render the trade of this kingdom both uſeful and neceſſary to *England*.

No.

No. 6. The Commons of *Ireland* returned the following anſwer to the ſpeech from the Throne :

" We pray leave to aſſure your Excellency, that we ſhall " heartily endeavour to eſtabliſh a linen and hempen manu- " facture here, and to render the ſame uſeful to *England*, " as well as advantageous to this kingdom, and that we hope " to find ſuch a temperament, in reſpect to the woollen " trade here, that the ſame may not be injurious to *Eng-* " *land*." And they paſſed a law that Seſſion, commencing 25th *March* 1699, laying 4s. additional duty on every 20s. value of broad-cloth exported out of *Ireland*, and 2s. on every 20s. value of ſerges, baize, kerſeys, ſtuffs, or any other ſort of new drapery made of wool, or mixed with wool (frizes only excepted) which was in effect a prohibition. And the ſame Seſſion a law was paſſed in *England*, reſtraining *Ireland* from exporting thoſe woollen manufactures, including frize, to any other parts, except *England* and *Wales*.

No. 7. The inhabitants of *Ireland* were not at this time in number much above one million, and the woollen manufacture the only trade on which the greater part depended for employment and ſupport ; and many wealthy manufacturers, carrying with them their families and aſſiſtants, quitted the kingdom.

No. 8. The Truſtees of the Linen Board expended near half a million of money in different ſchemes, to extend and promote the linen and hempen manufactures, before the year 1750, excluſive of the penſions and large ſums paid to foreigners who were invited into the kingdom, to inſtruct the inhabitants in the various branches thereof ; and it is with good reaſon believed, that the nobility, gentry, and private adventurers, expended a much larger ſum, in order to introduce and eſtabliſh thoſe manufactures in the country ;

try; and at this time they had made a conſiderable progreſs in the linen manufacture, and were ſo ſucceſsful in raiſing hemp in *Ireland*, as to export conſiderable quantities of duck or ſail-cloth yearly, previous to the duty impoſed in *Britain*, of 2d. per yard, on all ſail-cloth of the value of 10d. and under 14d. and 4d. per yard on all ſail-cloth of the value of 14d. per yard, or upwards, that had received the bounty or encouragement in *Ireland*, granted on ſail-cloth made of *Iriſh* hemp; by which means a ſtop was put to the further cultivation of hemp in *Ireland*, and the ſail-cloth manufacture in a great meaſure reſtored to the *Ruſſians*, *Dutch* and *Germans*, the imports of foreign duck or ſail-cloth into *England* (excluſive of *Scotland*) being as follows, at thoſe following periods. In the year ending *Chriſtmas*, 1730, 507,764 yards. In the year ending *Chriſtmas*, 1751, when this tax in *England* took place, 521,741 yards; and in the year ending *Chriſtmas*, 1770, 537,068 yards. Thus it is obvious, whilſt *Ireland* hath been deprived of the benefit propoſed to her by the ſail-cloth manufacture, that foreign countries have reaped the advantage, by an increaſing trade, that might have been at this day in a great meaſure ſupplied from *Ireland*.

No. 9. Chequed, ſtriped, printed, painted, ſtained, or dyed linens of the manufacture of *Ireland*, are not allowed to be imported into *Britain*, although there is no reſervation tending thereto in the addreſſes of the Lords and Commons of *England*, or in the King's anſwers, or in the propoſition by the ſpeech from the Throne to the *Iriſh* Parliament, in 1698.

Thoſe manufactures anſwer the purpoſes of the lower claſs of working people, in many reſpects, better than plain linen, ſuch as ſailors, labourers, and various uſes for women's wear, and have been gaining ground on the plain linen

linen manufactures ſeveral years for home conſumption and exportation, as appears by the exports from *England* and *Scotland*.

Cheques and ſtriped linens are generally made about one-fifth part thinner or lighter in the fabric, than plain linens, and ſuch as are exported, are on a medium 26 to 27 inches wide, and generally made of yarn, not exeeeding two dozen, or about 10d. or 11d. value in the pound, great part of which is imported into *Britain* from *Ireland*; and as one pound of yarn will, on a medium, make upwards of three yards of thoſe cheques, or ſtriped goods, a bounty of one half-penny per yard given thereon, is a premium of upwards of three half-pence on the pound of yarn, value 10d. or 11d. in favour of a manufacturer in *Britain* over a manufacturer in *Ireland*, from which bounty the *Iriſh* cheques, ſtriped or painted linens, &c. are totally excluded, their importation into *Britain* being prohibited.

If this bounty is continued, it is obvious it will advance the yarn on the manufacturers of *Ireland* 15l. per cent. and if increaſed to three half-pence per yard, it would enable the manufacturers of *Britain* to ſubſtitute cheques, and ſtriped linens, &c. in place of plain linens throughout the *Britiſh* plantations, and in many other markets, and at the ſame time advance *Iriſh* linen yarn ſo much in price, as to prevent the *Iriſh* manufacturers from ſending their low-priced plain linens to market on ſuch reaſonable terms, as to vie with the foreign manufactures, and thereby in a few years deſtroy the linen manufacture of *Ireland*.

A bounty on cottons, of three half-pence per yard, as propoſed in *Thoughts on the Linen Manufacture of Great Britain*, would operate in the ſame manner as the bounty on cheques, &c. in advancing the price of *Iriſh* linen yarn, and would,

would, in effect, increaſe their conſumption, and make them a ſubſtitute in the *Britiſh* plantations and elſewhere, in the place of light manufactures of wool, and alſo all low-priced linens.

No. 10. In the year ending *Chriſtmas*, 1770, the bounties paid on *Britiſh* linen exported from *England*, were 20,058l. 3s. 1d. and on *Iriſh* linen 16,921l. 15s. 3d. in both for bounties 36,979l. 18s. 4d. on plain linen; and when the *Scotch* bounties paid for that year are added thereto, they will appear to nearly counterbalance the drawback allowed the ſame year on foreign linens exported out of *Great Britain*, which is 64,319l. 19s. Thoſe bounties were at firſt granted to put *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* linens on a par with foreign linens in the plantations, rather than take off the drawbacks, until there was a proſpect of *Britain* and *Ireland* ſupplying thoſe markets fully with their own linen manufactures. However thoſe arguments might have prevailed with the *Britiſh* Legiſlature near thirty years ago, on the firſt application for thoſe bounties, when the Coloniſts were not ſo well enabled, from their trade, to advance the price of their linens, the preſent ſtate of the linen and hempen manufacture of *Ireland*, requires immediate protection and aid, and abſtracted from the ſum Government will ſave by it, of upwards of 120,000l. yearly, as the duties now ſtand, no ſcheme can be deviſed ſo effectual and eaſy, as to drop all bounties on *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* linens, to take off the drawbacks on foreign linens exported from *Britain*, and grant ſuch further duties, on a proper inſpection of the ſeveral ſpecies of foreign linens imported into *Britain*, as may preſerve to the home manufacture an advantage in the *Britiſh* markets.

The bounty renewed in 1756, and the ſubſidy of 1759, have not been the ſole cauſe that produced the effect ſuppoſed in *Thoughts*, &c. in lowering, between 1756 and 1765, the

the importation of foreign linens near ſeven millions of yards yearly, as the imports of foreign linens were only about 25,000,000 yards, in 1752 and 1754; and the calamities and depopulation occaſioned in *Germany* and *Ruſſia*, by the late war, had the greateſt ſhare in advancing their linens, and leſſening the quantities imported, in the years preceding 1765, into *Britain*, as will fully appear by the imports of foreign linens increaſing in 1769; and ſomething more effectual is ſtill neceſſary to be done to encourage the home manufacture, and prevent an illicit trade.

No. 11. The market of *Spain* being opened to *Britiſh* ſubjects on the ſame terms as it is to *France*, would be a great acquiſition to the linen and cotton manufacturers of *Britain* and *Ireland*, the conſumption of *Old Spain* and her dominions, it is believed, being as conſiderable as the conſumption of the *Britiſh* dominions; and there are many branches in the manufacture, ſuch as the *Britannias*, that could be made to great perfection in *Ireland*, and finiſhed in bleaching ſuperior to any ſent from *France*.

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Such were the obſervations made on this ſubject by the Truſtees of the Linen Manufacture, and returned to Parliament: they appear to have been approved of in general by the Committee which was afterwards appointed in 1774, to inquire into the ſtate of that manufacture in this kingdom, as appears by their report, which may be ſeen at large in Comm. Journ. Vol. xvi. From both which we have ſome uſeful information reſpecting the ſtate of our Iriſh manufactures to that period.

During the Seſſion of 1771, the city of Dublin loſt a zealous advocate for its Liberties, by the death of the celebrated *Dr. Charles Lucas*, who had been for many years one of the repreſentatives of that city in Parliament. He died

died on the 5th of November in that year, after having deſervedly obtained the character of a ſkillful Phyſician, and incorruptible Senator. His knowledge in chymiſtry was extenſive, and his abilities as a writer and an orator, procured him conſiderable applauſe.

From what has been before obſerved reſpecting the Adminiſtration of Lord *Townſhend*, (which now drew towards its concluſion) it appears that meaſures were attempted to be carried in the moſt arbitrary manner, and in actual violation of Conſtitutional Rights. It is true, we have not to dread at this day, any renewal of ſuch conteſts—the law of Poyning, with its long complained of conſequences, may reſt in its grave; but the following remarks on that ſubject, by a learned writer, are not undeſerving the reader's attention:—We give them from Dr. *Sullivan's* Lectures on the Feudal and Engliſh Laws:

"Our Legiſlature," (ſays he, referring to an early period) then conſiſting of three diſtinct parts, the King, Lords, and Commons, in proceſs of time, each of them grew up to have diſtinct privileges, as to the beginning particular buſineſſes. Thus all acts of general grace and pardon take their riſe from the King; acts relative to the Lords, and matters of dignity, in that Houſe; and the granting of money, in the Commons. How the Commons came by this excluſive right, as to money matters, is not ſo eaſy to determine. Certain it is that, originally, the Lords frequently taxed themſelves, as did the Commons the commonalty, without any communication with each other; but afterwards, when it was judged better to lay on general taxes, that ſhould equally affect the whole nation, theſe generally took their riſe in that Houſe which repreſented the bulk of the people; and this, by ſteadineſs and perſeverance, they have arrogated ſo far into a right peculiar to themſelves, as

not

not to allow the Lords a power to change the leaſt tittle in a money bill. As to laws that relate not to theſe peculiar privileges, they now take their riſe indifferently either in the Lords or Commons, and when framed into a bill, and approved of by both, are preſented to the King for his aſſent; and this has been the practice for theſe two or three hundred years paſt.

But the ancient method of paſſing laws was different, and was not only more reſpectful to, but left more power in the Crown. The Houſe which thought a new law expedient, drew up a petition to the King, ſetting forth the miſchief, and praying that it might be redreſſed by ſuch or ſuch a remedy. When both Houſes had agreed to the petition, it was entered on the Parliament-roll, and preſented to the King, who gave ſuch anſwer as he thought proper, either conſenting in the whole, by ſaying, *let it be as is deſired*, or accepting part and refuſing or paſſing by the reſt, or refuſing the whole by ſaying, *let the ancient laws be obſerved*, or in a gentler tone, *the King will deliberate*. And after his anſwer was entered on the roll, the Judges met, and on conſideration of the petition and anſwer, drew up the act, which was ſent to be proclaimed in the ſeveral counties.

Lord Coke very juſtly obſerves that theſe acts drawn up by men, maſters of the law, were generally exceedingly well penned, ſhort, and pithy, ſtriking at the root of the grievance, and introducing no new ones; whereas the long and ill-penned ſtatutes of later days, drawn up in the Houſes, have given occaſion to multitudes of doubts and ſuits, and often, in ſtopping one hole, have opened two. However, notwithſtanding this inconvenience, there was good cauſe for the alteration of method. The Judges, if at the devotion of the Court, would ſometimes make the moſt beneficial laws eluſory, by inſerting a ſalvo to the prerogative, though

though there was none in the King's anſwer; whereas by following the preſent courſe, the ſubjects have reduced the King to his bare affirmative or negative, and he has loſt that privilege, by the diſuſe of petitions, of accepting that part which was beneficial to himſelf, and denying the remainder.

I have the rather mentioned this ancient practice of making laws, becauſe it ſhews how inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution is that Republican notion, which was broached by the enemies of Charles the Firſt, that the King, by his Coronation Oath, ſwearing to obſerve the laws *quas vulgus elegerit*, was obliged to paſs all bills preſented to him, and had no negative. The meaning, certainly, only extended to his obſervation of the laws in being. For if the words were to be conſtrued of future propoſitions, and in the ſenſe that thoſe people would put upon them, the Lords alſo, as well as the King, muſt be deprived of their power of diſſent, and ſo indeed, it appears, they expounded it; for when the Lords offended them, by refuſing the trial of the King, they conſiſtently enough with the maxim they had eſtabliſhed, turned them out of doors.

But though ſuch as I have mentioned is the Conſtitution of the Engliſh Parliament, the form of the Legiſlature in *this* kingdom hath been for above two hundred and ſixty years very different, the nature of which, and the cauſes of its deviation from its model, it is proper every gentleman of this country ſhould be acquainted with. In the infancy of the Engliſh Government in Ireland, the Chief Governors were generally choſen by the King out of the Lords of the *Pale*, the deſcendants of the firſt conquerors, both as they were better acquainted with the intereſt, and more concerned in the preſervation of the colony, and alſo as, by their great poſſeſſions, they were better enabled to ſupport the dignity of the place, whoſe appointments, (the King's revenues

being inconſiderable,) were very low. Theſe Governors, however, though men of the greateſt abilities, and of equal faithfulneſs to the Crown, were not able to preſerve the footing the Engliſh had got ſoon after the conqueſt; but were every day loſing ground to the natives, down to the reign of Edward the Third, which is generally, and, I believe, juſtly attributed to the negligence of the Engliſh Lords, who, by intermarriages, had acquired great eſtates in Ireland. The power of theſe Lord Lieutenants was, in one reſpect, likewiſe exorbitant, namely, in giving conſent to laws without ever conſulting his Majeſty; a power, perhaps, neceſſary at firſt, when the country was in a perpetual ſtate of war, and its intereſt would not brook delays, but certainly, both for the ſake of King and People, not fit to be continued.

It was natural, therefore, for the King, who found himſelf ill ſerved, to change hands, and to entruſt this exorbitant power with perſons not eſtated in the country, and whoſe attachment he could confide in; and accordingly, from that time, we find natives of England generally appointed to the Government, to the great diſcontent of the Iriſh Lords, who looked upon themſelves as injured by the antient practice not being continued. This diſcontent was farther inflamed by a very extraordinary ſtep, which this otherwiſe wiſe and juſt King was prevailed upon to take, and which firſt gave riſe to that famous diſtinction between the Engliſh by blood, and the Engliſh by birth. This King and his father Edward the Second, had granted great eſtates, and extenſive juriſdiction to many Iriſh Lords of Engliſh blood, for ſervices pretended to have been done, many of which it it probable enough, as the King alledged, were obtained by deceit and falſe repreſentation; and had he contented himſelf with proceeding in a legal courſe, by calling theſe patents in by *ſcire facias*, and vacating them upon proof of the deceit, no

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perſon could have complained; but he took a very different method, as appears from the writ he thought proper to iſſue on that occaſion. *Quia plures exceſſivæ donationes terrarum, tenementorum & libertatum, in terra Hiberniæ, ad minus veracem & ſubdolam ſuggeſtionem petentium, tam per Edward II. quam per regem nunc factæ ſunt, rex deluſorias hujuſmodi machinationes volens elidere, de concilio peritorum ſibi aſſiſtentium, omnes donationes terrarum, tenementorum, & libertatum prædictarum duxit revocandas, quouſque de meritis perſonarum, de cauſis & conditionibus donationum prædictarum fuerit informatus, & ideo mandatum eſt juſticiariis regni Hiberniæ, quod omnia terras tenementa & libertates predicta per dictos regis juſticiarios aut locum tenentes ſuos quibuſcunque perſonis facta ſcire facias.* This haſty ſtep alienated the Engliſh Iriſh from the King and his adviſers, and though, after a conteſt of eleven years, the King annulled this preſumption, the jealouſy continued on both ſides, and the Iriſh of Engliſh blood were too ready to follow the banners of any pretender to the Crown of England.

In the reign of Henry the Sixth, that weak Prince's Miniſters, jealous of the influence of Richard, Duke of York in England, and of his pretenſions to the Crown, conſtituted him Governor of Ireland; than which they could not have done a thing more fatal to their maſter's family, or to the conſtitution of this kingdom: for to induce him to accept it, ſo eager were they to remove him from England, they armed him almoſt with regal powers. He was made Lieutenant for ten years, had all the revenue, without account, beſides an annual allowance from England; had power to farm the King's lands, to place and diſplace officers, and levy ſoldiers at his pleaſure. The uſe the Duke made of his Commiſſion was to ſtrengthen his party, and make Ireland an aſylum for ſuch of them as ſhould be oppreſſed in England; and for this purpoſe paſſed an act of parlia-

ment, reciting a preſcription, that any perſon, for any cauſe, coming into the ſaid land, had uſed to receive ſuccour, tuition, ſupportation, and free liberty within the ſaid land, during their abiding there, without any grievance, hurt, or moleſtation of any perſon, notwithſtanding any writ, privy ſeal, great ſeal, letters miſſive under ſignet, or other commandment of the King: confirming the ſaid preſcription, and making it high treaſon in any perſon who ſhould bring in ſuch writs, and ſo forth, to attach or diſturb any ſuch perſon.

This act, together with the Duke's popularity, and the great eſtate he had in this kingdom, attached the Engliſh Iriſh firmly to his family, inſomuch that, in Henry the Seventh's reign, they crowned the impoſtor Lambert Simnel, and were afterwards ready to join Perkin Warbeck; and by this act of the Duke of York's they thought to exculpate themſelves. But when that King had trodden down all oppoſition, he took advantage of the precarious ſituation they were in, not only to have that act repealed, and to deprive his repreſentatives there from paſſing laws *rege inconſulto*, but alſo to make ſuch a change in the Legiſlature, as would throw the principal weight into his and his ſucceſſors hands, and this was by the famous law of *Poyning's*. By former laws a Parliament was to be holden once a year, and the Lords and Commons, as in England, were the propoſers.—This act, intended to alter theſe points, gave occaſion to many doubts; and indeed, it ſeems calculated for the purpoſe of not diſcloſing its whole effect at once. Its principal purport at firſt view, ſeeming to be intended to reſtrain the calling the Parliament, except on ſuch occaſion as the Lord Lieutenant and Council ſhould ſee ſome good cauſes for it, that ſhould be approved by the King. The words are, that "from the next Parliament that ſhall be holden by the "King's commandment and licence, no Parliament be hol-

"den

" den hereafter in the ſaid land, but at ſuch ſeaſon as the " King's Lieutenant and Council there firſt do certify to the " King, under the Great Seal of that land, the cauſes and " conſiderations; and all ſuch acts as to them ſeemeth " ſhould paſs in the ſame Parliament, and ſuch cauſes, con- " ſiderations, and acts, affirmed by the King and his Coun- " cil to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence " thereupon, as well in affirmation of the ſaid cauſes and " acts, as to ſummon the ſaid Parliament under his Great " Seal of England had and obtained; that done, a Parlia- " ment to be had and holden after the form and effect before " rehearſed, and any Parliament holden contrary, to be " deemed void."

The firſt and great effect of this act was, that it repealed the law for annual Parliaments, and made the Lord Lieutenant and Council, or the King who had the naming of them, with his Council of England, the propoſer to the two Houſes of the laws to paſs, at leaſt of thoſe that ſhould be ſo deviſed before the meeting of Parliament. But the great doubt was, as there was no expreſs words depriving the Lords and Commons of their former rights, whether, when the Parliament was once met, they had not ſtill the old right of beginning other bills, or whether they were not reſtrained to the acts ſo certified and returned. By the preambles of ſome acts, ſoon after made, expreſſing that they were made at the prayer of the Commons in the preſent Parliament aſſembled, one would be inclined to think that the Commons, after aſſembling the Parliament, had propoſed theſe laws. Certain it is, the latter opinion, ſupported by the Miniſters of the King and his Lawyers, gained ground. For, in the twenty-eighth of Henry the Eighth's reign, an act was made ſuſpending Poyning's law with reſpect to all acts already paſſed, or to be paſſed in that Parliament; the paſſing of which act was certainly a ſtrong con-

firmation of what was before doubtful againſt the Houſe of Lords or Commons in Ireland, whether they could bring in bills different from thoſe tranſmitted by the Council; ſince here they both conſented to the ſuſpenſion of the act, to make valid the laws they had paſſed or ſhould paſs in that Parliament, without the previous ceremony.

But in the reign of Philip and Mary, by which time this opinion, before doubtful (for ſo it is mentioned in the act then made) was, however, to be maintained, and ſtrengthened, as it added power to the Crown, the act we at preſent live under was made to prevent all doubts in the former, which was certainly framed in words calculated to create ſuch doubts, to be extended in favour of the prerogative.—This provides, that as many cauſes and conſiderations for acts not foreſeen before, may happen during the ſitting of Parliament, the Lord Lieutenant and Council may certify them, and they ſhould paſs, if they ſhould be agreed to by the Lords and Commons. But the great ſtrokes in this new act were two, the firſt explanatory of part of the former in Henry the Seventh's reign, that is, that the King and Council of England ſhould have power to alter the acts tranſmitted by the Council of Ireland; ſecondly, the enacting part, that no acts but ſuch as came over under the Great Seal of England, ſhould be enacted; which made it clear, that neither Lords nor Commons in Ireland had a right to frame or propoſe bills to the Crown, but that they muſt firſt be framed in the *Privy Council* of Ireland, afterwards conſented to, or altered by the King, and the ſame Council of England, and then, appearing in the face of bills, be refuſed or accepted in *toto* by the Lords and Commons here.

It is true, that both Lords and Commons have attempted, and gained an approach towards their antient rights of beginning bills, not in that name, but under the name of

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Heads of Bills, to be tranſmitted to the Council; but as the Council are the firſt beginners of *acts* of *Parliament*, they have aſſumed a power of modelling theſe alſo. The Legiſlature of *Ireland* is, therefore, very complicated. * Firſt, the Privy Council of Ireland, who, though they may take the hint from the Lords or Commons, frame the bill; next, the King and Council of England, who have a power of alteration, and really make it a bill, unalterable, by ſending it under the Great Seal of England; then the two Houſes of Lords and Commons, who muſt agree in the whole, or reject the whole; and, if it paſſes all theſe, it is preſented to the King for his aſſent; which, indeed, is but nominal, as it was before obtained.

* This refers to the Conſtitution of Ireland, as it ſtood previous to the late *Union*.

CHAPTER VI.

Commencement of Earl Harcourt's Adminiſtration.—Speaker's Obſervations on preſenting the Money Bills.—Exciſe Board.—Propoſals for an Abſentee Tax.—Proceedings in England thereupon.—Tontine.—Bill paſſed in the Britiſh Parliament in favour of Ireland.—Remarks.—Effects of the American Conteſt.—Petition of the City of Waterford.—Motion in the Commons for an Addreſs.—National Accounts.—Proceedings in Great Britain relative to Ireland.—Conduct of Earl of Effingham, &c.—Proceedings of the Citizens of Dublin.—Proclamation of the Privy Council.—Patriotic conduct of Mr. Ogle reſpecting an Embargo.—Debates in the Britiſh Parliament.

THE Parliament aſſembled the 12th of October 1773, under the Adminiſtration of Earl *Harcourt*, and was as uſual liberal in its ſupplies, to anſwer the exigencies of Government. On preſenting the Money Bills, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons expreſſed himſelf as follows:

"The Commons have exerted their *utmoſt efforts* to anſwer your Excellency's expectations, not only in providing for the diſcharge of an arrear of 265,000l.; but alſo in making an addition to the revenue of near 100,000l. a-year. Difficult as this taſk appeared in a kingdom ſo deſtitute of reſources as this is, it yet was undertaken with chearfulneſs, and proſecuted with vigour; but if the means they have employed ſhall prove inadequate to the liberality of their intentions, it muſt be imputed to the inability of the kingdom, not to any diſinclination or unwillingneſs in them to

make

make ample proviſion for his Majeſty's ſervice, to which they have ſacrificed their moſt favourite objects. The moderation and temper with which all their proceedings have been conducted during the courſe of this Seſſion, afford the cleareſt proof, not only of their gratitude for his Majeſty's gracious attention and condeſcenſion to their wiſhes, but alſo of the juſt ſenſe they entertain of your Excellency's effectual interceſſion in their favour, to which they attribute thoſe meaſures of economy which have been lately adopted, and which they doubt not will be continued; and they have the fulleſt confidence that the ſame humane and benevolent diſpoſition will induce your Excellency to repreſent to his Majeſty in the ſtrongeſt light, not only their duty and affection to him, but alſo the ſtate and circumſtances of this kingdom, from which, and from your Excellency's credit and influence, they conceive the moſt ſanguine hopes that thoſe reſtrictions, which the narrow and ſhort-ſighted policy of former times, equally injurious to *Great Britain* and to us, impoſed upon the manufactures of this kingdom, will be remitted.—If *Great Britain* reaped the fruits of this policy, the Commons of *Ireland* would behold it without repining, and ſubmit to it without complaining; but it aggravates the ſenſe of their misfortunes to ſee the rivals, if not the enemies of *Great Britain*, in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of thoſe advantages, to which they think themſelves entitled upon every principle of policy and of juſtice. It is the expectation of being reſtored to ſome, if not all, of thoſe rights, and that alone which can juſtify to the People the conduct of their Repreſentatives, in laying ſo many additional burthens upon them in the courſe of this Seſſion—and no time can be more favourable to their wiſhes than the preſent, when the public Councils are directed by a Miniſter, who has judgment to diſcern, and courage to purſue the common intereſt of the whole empire, and when

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the Throne is filled by a Monarch, the ſole object of whoſe ambition is to render all his people happy." *

Lord Harcourt's Government, at its commencement, promiſed much advantage to Ireland, and had the ſupport of ſome very diſtinguiſhed and popular characters; but in the end, it proved altogether callous (as Mr. *Mullalla* obſerves) to the diſtreſſed ſtate of the country, and carried its Parliamentary meaſures with too high an hand. †

The addition of a Board of Exciſe, created in the former Adminiſtration, was revoked, and ſome ſaving was made in conſequence. Even at the beginning of this Seſſion, the very deſirable offer of an abſentee tax was made on the part of Government, and what may ſeem extraordinary, it was rejected. It owed its fate perhaps more to having proceeded from Government, than to a due eſtimate of its advantages or defects. ‡ It was propoſed that a tax of 2s. in the pound ſhould be laid upon the nett-rents and annual profits of all lands, &c. in Ireland, to be paid by all perſons who ſhould not actually reſide in that kingdom for the ſpace of ſix months in each year, from Chriſtmas 1773 to Chriſtmas 1775. A meaſure which might appear in ſome degree unfavourable to the intereſts of England, could not with decency be preſſed by the Repreſentatives of an Engliſh Government. They offered it for the approbation of the Iriſh Parliament, but left all their connections at perfect freedom, in deciding upon the queſtion: and accordingly we find that ſeveral of the ſervants of the Crown voted againſt it. Upon the diviſion there appeared 102 for, and 121 againſt the tax: the majority therefore by which it was rejected, was not very conſiderable.

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* Com. Journ. Vol. xvi.—† View of Iriſh Affairs, Vol. 2d.—‡ Claren. Rev.

It appears, however, that this tax was no ſooner ſuggeſted, than it met with marked diſapprobation from many noble perſonages and others in Great Britain, who poſſeſſing property in Ireland, felt themſelves intereſted in the event. Accordingly the following Letter was written to Lord North, then at the head of Adminiſtration:

" *My Lord,*

" It is publicly reported, that a project has been communicated to the King's Miniſters, for propoſing in the Parliament of Ireland, a tax of regulation, which is particularly and excluſively to affect the property of thoſe of his Majeſty's ſubjects who poſſeſs lands in that kingdom, but whoſe ordinary reſidence is in this.

" It is in the ſame manner publicly underſtood, that this extraordinary deſign has been encouraged by an aſſurance from Adminiſtration, that if the heads of a bill propoſing ſuch a tax, ſhould be tranſmitted from Ireland, they would be returned with the ſanction of his Majeſty's Privy Council here, under the Great Seal of England.

" My Lord, we find ourſelves comprehended under the deſcription of thoſe who are to be the object of this unprecedented impoſition.

" We poſſeſs conſiderable landed property in both kingdoms; our ordinary reſidence is in England. We have not hitherto conſidered ſuch reſidence as an act of delinquency to be puniſhed; or, as a political evil, to be corrected by the penal operation of a partial tax.

" We have had, many of us, our birth, and our earlieſt habits in this kingdom; ſome of us have an indiſpenſable public

public duty, and all of us (where such duty does not require such restriction) have the right of free subjects of choosing our habitation in whatever part of his Majesty's dominions we shall esteem most convenient.

" We cannot hear, without astonishment, of a scheme by which we are to be stigmatized by, what is in effect, a fine for our abode in this country, the principal member of our British empire, and the residence of our common Sovereign.

" We have ever shewn the utmost readiness in contributing with the rest of our fellow-subjects, in any legal and equal method, to the exigencies of the public service, and to the support of his Majesty's Government.

" We have ever borne a cordial, though not an exclusive regard, to the true interest of Ireland, and to all its rights and liberties : to none of which we think our residence in Great Britain, to be in the least prejudicial, but rather the means, in very many cases, of affording them a timely and effectual support.

" We cannot avoid considering this scheme as in the highest degree injurious to the welfare of that kingdom as well as of this ; its manifest tendency is to lessen the value of all landed property there, to put restrictions upon it unknown in any part of the British dominions ; and as far as we can find, without parallel in any civilized country. It leads directly to a separation of these kingdoms in interest and affection, contrary to the standing policy of our ancestors, which has been, at every period, and particularly at the glorious revolution, inseparably to connect them by every tie both of affection and interest.

" We

" We apply to your Lordſhip in particular: This is intended as a mode of public ſupply; and as we conceive the treaſury of Ireland, as well as that of England, is in a great meaſure within your Lordſhip's department, we flatter ourſelves we ſhall not be refuſed authentic information concerning a matter in which we are ſo nearly concerned; that if the ſcheme which we ſtate to your Lordſhip doth exiſt—we may be enabled to purſue every legal method of oppoſition to a project, in every light unjuſt and impolitic.

" We have the honour to be,
" Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,
" And moſt humble ſervants,

" DEVONSHIRE,
" ROCKINGHAM,
" BESBOROUGH,
" MILTON,
" UPPER OSSORY."

London, Oct. 16, 1773.

Anſwer from *Lord North* to the *Duke of Devonſhire*:

" *My Lord,*

" Your Grace, and the Lords Rockingham, Beſborough, Milton, and Upper Oſſory, having in your letter of the 16th, deſired authentic information concerning a project of propoſing to the Parliament of Ireland, a tax upon the landed property of ſuch perſons whoſe ordinary reſidence is out of that kingdom, I will endeavour to ſtate in a few words, what has paſſed upon the ſubject.

" In the courſe of the ſummer, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ſent over ſeveral propoſitions for reſtoring the credit, providing for the debts, and putting upon a proper footing, the finances of that kingdom; at the ſame time he informed

ed his Majeſty's ſervants here, that he had reaſon to believe, that among other modes of ſupply, there would probably be a tax of the nature mentioned in your Grace's letter.

" The anſwer which was returned to his Excellency, by thoſe of his Majeſty's ſervants, to whom this communication was made, was to the following effect: that if the Iriſh Parliament ſhould ſend over to England ſuch a plan, as ſhould appear to be well calculated to give effectual relief to Ireland, in its preſent diſtreſs, their opinion would be, that it ought to be carried into execution, although the tax upon abſentees ſhould be a part of it.

" I beg leave to trouble your Grace to communicate this information to the other Lords, and have the honour to be, with great reſpect, &c. &c. &c.

" North."

On account of this anſwer, Circular Letters were written by Lord Rockingham to the ſeveral Gentlemen who might be affected by this meaſure, propoſing a general meeting for the purpoſe of adopting the moſt eligible and effectual means to defeat it. But as it was rejected by the Parliament here, any further oppoſition became then unneceſſary.

It was now propoſed, to raiſe the ſum of 265,000l. by annuities, with benefit of ſurvivorſhip, at 6l. per cent.—This ſum was divided into ſhares of 100l. each, and for every ſhare one life was allowed to be nominated; the lives were divided into three claſſes. No dividend of the intereſt ariſing from the ſhares of thoſe who died in each claſs was to be made, until it yielded a clear one-half per cent. among the ſurvivors; and the increaſe intereſt never to be more than the principal originally advanced by each ſubſcriber. The remainder of the intereſt as it occurred, to be applied

applied to the credit of the nation. This ſcheme was held forth by the Secretary of the day, as a maſter-piece in finance, as being little leſs than an actual gain of ſo much, without adding in the leaſt to the debt, as the principal was never to be refunded.

The revenue being this year conſiderably ſhort of the expences of Government, ſtamp-duties were granted upon all parchment, vellum or paper, on which any legal proceeding or private inſtrument, of almoſt any nature, ſhould be written or engroſſed, according to the nature of the article ſtamped; the duties varied from ſix pounds to one half-penny, and were at firſt granted for one year and nine months from the 25th of March 1774, at the expiration of which period they were continued, and have been to this day, from time to time, raiſed conſiderably.

It was confidently promiſed that theſe duties would ſo far increaſe the revenue, as to be equal to the expences, when they had undergone the *economical reduction thus intended, ſo that the pernicious practice of running in debt would be no longer purſued.* The public accounts of the next Seſſion, however, clearly diſplayed the fallacy of thoſe promiſes.

As to the national debt, it amounted at Lady-day 1773, to 994,890l. 10s. 10d. and the total of penſions to 172,464l. 14s. 3¾d. for two years then ending.

A bill for the improvement of the agriculture of this kingdom having paſſed, and being duly returned, the Commons voted an addreſs of thanks thereupon to his Majeſty, conſidering it as a ſignal inſtance of his paternal regard for his people of Ireland. A bill likewiſe received the Royal Aſſent, to enable his Majeſty's ſubjects of *whatever perſuaſion* to teſtify their allegiance to him.

At

At the commencement of the next Seſſion in October 1775, the Lord Lieutenant obſerved that, ſince the laſt meeting of Parliament, his Majeſty's tender concern for the welfare of this kingdom had induced him to paſs ſeveral laws in the *Britiſh* Parliament highly beneficial to the commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of Ireland.

" By the act which extends the great advantage of *Britiſh* fiſheries to Ireland, a ſource of induſtry and wealth (ſaid he) is opened to you, which has made other nations great and flouriſhing. That act which allows the cloathing and accoutrements neceſſary for his Majeſty's forces paid from the revenues of this kingdom to be exported from Ireland, is a particular mark of the Royal favour; and even that which allows the importation of rape-ſeed into *Great Britain* from this kingdom, under certain regulations, connected with thoſe ſalutary laws paſſed in your laſt Seſſion, form ſuch a ſyſtem of agriculture and improvement as will, I truſt, ſecure riches and plenty to the people of Ireland.—A bounty granted by Great Britain, upon the importation of flax, is ſo marked a recommendation of the linen manufacture, that it becomes needleſs for me to urge the moſt perſevering application to that ſtaple of your country."

As *Great Britain* was never remarkable for her liberality toward this kingdom, it is natural to look for the ſource from whence all theſe favours flowed: though it is evident they were not of that importance which had been alledged.

The diſputes which had for ſome time ſubſiſted between *Great Britain* and *America*, had now ripened into a war:—hoſtilities were commenced; and ſuch was the general ſtate of the Britiſh empire, that it required every prudential exertion to prevent the contagion of diſcontent from ſpreading its deſtructive influence. The civil war between England

land and her colonies, increaſed the calamities of Ireland. The exportation of Iriſh linen for America had been very conſiderable; but now this great ſource of national wealth was totally ſhut up, by a very unconſtitutional ſtretch of prerogative, under the pretext of preventing the Americans from being ſupplied with proviſions from this country. An embargo was laid on the exportation of proviſions from this kingdom, and it was continued in reality to enable a few *Britiſh contractors* to make good their engagements.* This embargo, combined with other cauſes which were invariable and permanent, produced the moſt melancholy effects.—Wool and black cattle fell conſiderably in value, as alſo did land; and rents in many places could ſcarcely be collected, ſo much was public credit eſſentially injured.

We have already ſeen, that the Parliament of this country declared the general ſenſe of the kingdom reſpecting its diſtreſſed ſituation, and the illiberal reſtrictions on its commerce: it had even defended its conſtitutional privileges; and though the voice of the nation was only thus conveyed through the temperate medium of its repreſentatives, the public mind was not unknown in the ſiſter country.

As the American fiſheries were now aboliſhed, it became neceſſary to think of ſome meaſures for ſupplying their place, and particularly to guard againſt the ruinous conſequences of the foreign markets either changing the courſe of conſumption, or falling into the hands of ſtrangers, and thoſe perhaps inimical to *Great Britain*. The ſtate of public affairs in this country it now ſeemed neceſſary to take ſome notice of, and to pay ſome greater conſideration to her intereſts, than had been practiſed in former years. The queſ-

* View of Iriſh Affairs, Vol. 2d.

tion between England and her colonies, particularly in the manner it had been argued, was not calculated to quiet *this* kingdom : and the repoſe of ſuch parts of the empire as were ſtill at reſt was never more neceſſary. In the criſis to which matters were now evidently tending, little doubt remained, that even aſſiſtance would be requiſite from Ireland ; beſides, her patience, her ſufferings, and her forbearance, might be held up as a mirror, in contraſt to America : and though theſe merits had long paſſed unregarded, this did not ſeem a fit ſeaſon to encourage an opinion that a ſimilar conduct would *never* obtain any reward. The nature of the benefit, however, was to be conſidered, and nothing could ſeem better adapted, than a donation, which would be an advantage inſtead of a loſs to the giver. A ſhare in the firſt fruits of a ſpoil, was alſo a lure of undoubted efficacy for enticing future ſervice. It was not in itſelf very conſiderable ; but it might be conſidered as a beginning, and ſmall benefits carry weight with thoſe who have not been habituated to great favours.

It had been ſhewn to the *Britiſh* Parliament, that the exports from England to this kingdom amounted then to 2,400,cool. annually : beſides the latter ſupported a large ſtanding army, at all times ready for the defence of the former ; and immenſe ſums of her ready caſh were ſpent there by her numerous abſentees, penſioners and placemen ; yet from oppreſſive reſtrictions in trade, Ireland was cut off from the benefit of her great natural ſtaple commodity, as well as excluded from the advantages which ſhe might derive from the peculiar advantages of her ſituation.

The Britiſh Miniſter therefore moved for a committee of the whole Houſe, to conſider of the encouragement proper to be given to the *fiſheries* of Great Britain and Ireland.— This attention to *Ireland* was generally approved of, and after

after ſome converſation on the hardſhips this country ſuffered, it was propoſed to extend the motion, by adding the words "*trade and commerce*;" and thereby afford an opportunity to grant us ſuch relief and indulgence in thoſe exports, as might be done without prejudice to Great Britain. The Miniſter objected to this; however, the committee in its progreſs granted ſeveral bounties to the ſhips of Great Britain and Ireland, for their encouragement in proſecuting the *Newfoundland* fiſhery; and it was farther reſolved in favour of this kingdom, that it ſhould be lawful to export from hence, cloaths and accoutrements for ſuch regiments on the Iriſh Eſtabliſhment, as were employed abroad: and alſo, that a bounty of five ſhillings per barrel ſhould be allowed on all *flax-ſeed* imported into Ireland. This laſt reſolution was paſſed, to prevent the evils that were apprehended here, from the cutting off our great American ſource of ſupply in that article. Another reſolution was alſo paſſed, by which Ireland was allowed to export proviſions, hooks, lines, nets, tools and implements for the purpoſes of *the fiſhery*. The committee alſo agreed to the granting of bounties for encouraging the *whale-fiſhery*, in thoſe ſeas that were to the ſouthward of *Greenland* and *Davis's Streights* fiſheries: and upon the ſame principle took off the duties that were payable upon the importation of oil, blubber and bone from *Newfoundland*, &c.—They alſo took off the duty that was payable upon the importation of ſeal-ſkins.

Thus we are enabled to diſcover the principle which gave riſe to Britiſh benevolence in this inſtance towards Ireland: and as we obſerved, it was naturally apprehended that England might in her then ſituation, ſtand in need of aſſiſtance from this country, to augment her forces abroad, ſo we find that in this Seſſion of 1775, it was propoſed, in conſequence of a Meſſage from his Majeſty, delivered by the Lord Lieutenant, that 4000 troops, out of the 12,000 voted for

the defence of this kingdom, ſhould be ſpared to his Majeſty's ſervice abroad; the ſame, however, to be no charge to Ireland, after quitting the kingdom: And alſo, that 4000 foreign Proteſtant troops ſhould be received to replace them; the ſame likewiſe to be no charge to this kingdom. The firſt propoſition was agreed to, but the latter was rejected by 106 againſt 68.

The effects of the conteſt with America were ſoon felt in Ireland; and the city of *Waterford* petitioned the *Britiſh* Parliament, ſetting forth the fatal conſequences that would reſult therefrom to the inhabitants of that city in particular, as they would be thereby deprived of the only valuable branch of export which they were permitted to carry on with the colonies, that of their linen manufactures. Several other petitions were alſo received from manufacturing towns in Great Britain and Ireland againſt the coercive laws that had been paſſed reſpecting America; but theſe, as well as many that were preſented to the Crown, were all equally diſregarded.

Parliamentary affairs in this kingdom were during this Seſſion carried on as uſual, without any very remarkable occurrence, except that heads of a bill for granting additional duties on beer, ale, &c. being tranſmitted, were returned with certain alterations, for which reaſon, the bill was rejected, and a new one framed. The like circumſtances alſo attended the bill for granting *ſtamp duties*. As there was by this means for ſome ſhort time no law here for collecting the *additional duties* on tobacco and other goods imported into this kingdom, great exertions were made by the importers to procure ſupplies of that article before a new bill could receive the Royal Aſſent: an opportunity which proved of ſome advantage to ſeveral individuals.

A motion

A motion was now made in the Houſe of Commons, as follows:*—"That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty to expreſs our inviolable attachment to his Royal Perſon and Government, and humbly to aſſure his Majeſty, that we feel a conſcious happineſs in the ample and liberal diſcharge of our duty to a Sovereign, ſo ready to expreſs his gracious approbation of the loyal endeavours of his people.

"To return our unfeigned thanks for his Majeſty's paternal ſolicitude at the burdens ſuſtained by his people; a ſolicitude repeatedly communicated to us from the Throne by his Majeſty's Repreſentatives, and ſuggeſting to us an attention to the diminution of our expence, and the diſcharge of our national debt. That we meet the wiſhes of his Majeſty, and that we will not by an inexcuſable ſilence, conceal from his Majeſty the real diſtreſſes of his people of *Ireland*.

"That at the cloſe of the laſt war, the debt of this nation did not exceed 521,161l. 16s. 6d. and was then deemed ſo conſiderable, that his Majeſty's paternal care thought itſelf called upon to direct the attention of his faithful Commons to the diſcharge of our national debt, and to ſignify his gracious wiſhes for a very conſiderable diminution of our national expence. That after a peace of ten years, the debt of the nation appeared to be ſo increaſed, that it was voted by his faithful Commons in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, to be a ſum not exceeding 994,890l. 10s. 10d. a circumſtance ſo alarming and inſupportable to his people, that we determined with one voice to put an end to the pernicious practice of accumulating debt, and we thought it our duty to accompliſh that neceſſary end by firſt endeavouring to raiſe the revenue of this kingdom to an equality with

* Comm. Journ. Vol. 17.

the eſtabliſhments. That we adopted every propoſition of his Majeſty's Miniſters, and we accepted their promiſes of economy with unbounded confidence; vainly expecting that it would be hereafter unneceſſary to afflict our gracious Sovereign, by enumerating either the complaints or the diſtreſſes of his people. That as we wiſhed to ſecond the promiſed economy of his Majeſty's Miniſters by every effort on our part, we conſiderably diminiſhed the ſum uſually granted by this Houſe for the purpoſes of national improvement.—That in order that there might be no remnant of any arrear upon any of his Majeſty's eſtabliſhments, we departed from the uſual cuſtom of diſcharging the arrears to the 25th of *March* only, and we raiſed the ſum of 265,000l. to pay them up to the 29th of *September* 1773, and to prevent the neceſſity of any arrear for the future, we conſented to a Stamp Duty, and ſeveral other taxes, which our predeceſſors in the times of the moſt expenſive wars had never thought proper to impoſe. That the calculations of his Majeſty's Miniſters were admitted, their promiſes were relied upon, the taxes they propoſed were voted, and their projects were uninterrupted by any oppoſition from his faithful Commons. But that we are now reduced to the melancholy neceſſity of informing our gracious Sovereign, that theſe unqueſtionable proofs of our zeal have been proofs of our inability. That the new taxes have fallen ſhort of the eſtimates made by his Majeſty's Miniſters, and unequal as they are to the effects which we hoped for, they have ſerved only to ſhew that we are arrived at that point of taxation, where the impoſition of new duties lowers the old ones. That the debts and incumbrances of his faithful ſubjects have increaſed with ſuch an alarming rapidity, that we have in this Seſſion been reduced to the unfortunate neceſſity of raiſing 175,000l. to defray the arrears incurred in one year and ſix months only. That the perſeverance of his faithful Commons was not yet exhauſted, and we have

again

again endeavoured in the preſent Seſſion, to ſupport his Majeſty's eſtabliſhments, by new burdens upon ourſelves.—But that the experience of his Majeſty's Miniſters, aſſiſted by the beſt efforts of his faithful Commons, has been able to deviſe one new tax only—a tax upon Spirits—a tax, the laſt which we propoſed for his Majeſty's ſervice, becauſe it was of the moſt doubtful nature; a tax which proves our deſpondency as well as our zeal, and concerning which we know nothing certainly, except that it cannot produce enough. That we ſee before us the neceſſity of borrowing, Seſſion after Seſſion, continued. We ſee the funds on which we uſed to borrow, nearly exhauſted. We ſee the new duties which we raiſed with the hopes of providing a ſufficient revenue within the year, mortgaged in part for the payment of our incumbrances, and that we ſee his Majeſty's Miniſters relapſing into their former deſpondency of ſupplying the exigencies of the State in any other manner, after every effort made on their part, and ſeconded by us, and with a dreadful increaſe of debt incurred during the experiment. That if an indulgence to his Majeſty's Miniſters could induce us to ſuppreſs theſe truths, we ſhould be guilty of a criminal deceit towards the beſt of Sovereigns. That could we neglect the moſt eſſential intereſts of ourſelves, our conſtituents, and our poſterity, ſtill our duty to his Majeſty would prevent us from ſuffering the reſources of his Majeſty's power and dignity to dwindle and decay, and that we are the more neceſſitated to make this earneſt application, becauſe the evils we ſuffer are not temporary or occaſional; becauſe we cannot attribute them to any phyſical evil, or proud national exertion, but to a ſilent, waſting and inviſible cauſe, which has injured the people without adding ſtrength to the Crown. That we therefore perform the indiſpenſable duty of laying our diſtreſſes at the foot of the Throne, that Hiſtory may not report us as a nation, who, in the midſt of peace, and under a gracious King,

equally ready to warn and to relieve, proceeded deliberately to their own ruin, without one appeal to the wiſdom which would have redreſſed them. And that we do appeal from the temporary expedients of his Majeſty's Miniſters, to his own wiſdom and virtues, and to that permanent intereſt which his Majeſty has, and ever will have, in the welfare of his people. And if ſupplication can add force to the pleadings of our common intereſt, and of our perſevering loyalty, we ſupplicate, that his Majeſty will graciouſly turn his Royal attention to the reduction of our eſtabliſhments, which we are unable to ſupport, and which we would ſupport if we could. That we do not preſume to point out more particularly what his Royal wiſdom will more properly and effectually diſtinguiſh. That after all our efforts, and all our diſappointments, we have one ſure reſource in his Majeſty's Royal juſtice and wiſdom, and we do reſt aſſured, that our gracious Sovereign will not ſuffer the ſtrength of his Crown to be impaired, or the glories of his reign to be ſullied, by the unaccountable and entire ruin of a loyal people."

This motion was negatived.

As to the ſtate of the national accounts, it appeared, that the expences for the two laſt years ending Lady-day 1775, exceeded the revenues by 247,797l. 0s. 10½d.—It therefore again became neceſſary to borrow; and the pernicious ſyſtem of a *Tontine*, or annuities with ſurvivorſhip, was recurred to—175,000l. being raiſed upon terms ſimilar with the *Tontine* formerly mentioned.

In addition to the diſadvantages ariſing from this mode of borrowing, there was one almoſt peculiar and highly diſtreſſing to this country; the greateſt part of the ſubſcription being made abroad, not only the expence of agency was incurred for the payment of the annuities in *London*, but

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what was infinitely worſe, the amount of thoſe annuities being remitted out of the kingdom, became an additional drain to its ſpecie, and thereby an increaſe of the evil ariſing from Abſentees. * The debt of the nation was now 931,690l. 1s. 9½d.—and the amount of penſions 158,685l. 4s. 8½d.

The Parliament being prorogued was afterwards diſſolved, and a new one aſſembled in June 1776, at which time Edmond Sexton Pery, Eſq. was re-elected *Speaker* by the Commons: it was prorogued ſoon after, and did not meet again 'till 1777.

The American diſpute, which ſo much engaged the attention of every part of the Britiſh empire, naturally became about this time a ſubject of conſideration amongſt the citizens of Dublin.—In 1775, the Earl of *Effingham*, finding that the regiment in which he ſerved was intended to act againſt the Colonies, thought it inconſiſtent with his character and unbecoming of his dignity to enforce meaſures with his ſword, which he had utterly condemned in his Legiſlative capacity.—He therefore wrote a letter to the Secretary at War, reſigning his command in the army, and ſtating his reaſons for it. This conduct rendered that Nobleman extremely popular, and the City of Dublin at the Midſummer Quarter Aſſembly, voted public thanks to Lord Effingham, "for having conſiſtently with the principles of a true Engliſhman refuſed to draw his ſword, (which had been before employed to the honour of his Country) againſt the lives and liberties of his fellow-ſubjects in America." Soon after a ſimilar addreſs of thanks, but in ſtill fuller terms, was preſented to him from the Guild of Merchants of Dublin: the latter alſo preſented an addreſs of thanks to the ſeveral

* Clarend. Revenue.

ſeveral Peers, who (as they ſaid) " in ſupport of the Conſtitution, and in oppoſition to a weak and wicked Adminiſtration, proteſted againſt the American Reſtraining Bills." This addreſs, with the ſeveral anſwers of the Lords to whom it was preſented, appeared at that time in the public papers.

The Sheriffs and Commons of Dublin had for ſome time endeavoured to obtain the concurrence of the then Lord Mayor and Board of Aldermen, in a petition to the Throne, againſt the meaſures purſued with reſpect to the Colonies; but were anſwered by the latter, upon their *firſt* application, that the matter was of the *higheſt importance*, and therefore *inexpedient*. Upon a ſubſequent occaſion, however, a committee of ſix Aldermen, with as many of the Common Council, were appointed to draw up a petition and addreſs; which after ſeveral weeks preparation or delay, being at length accompliſhed, the petition was arreſted in its further progreſs, by a negative from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.

Upon this diſappointment, the Sheriffs and Commons entered into reſolutions, which they prefaced as follows: " Anxious to preſerve our reputations, from the odium that muſt remain to all poſterity on the names of thoſe, who in any wiſe promote the acts now carrying on in America; and feeling the moſt poignant grief, as well on account of the injured inhabitants of that country, as on that of our brave countrymen, ſent on the unnatural errand of killing their fellow-ſubjects:"

" *Reſolved*, That it is the duty of every good citizen to exert his utmoſt abilities to allay the unhappy diſputes that at preſent diſturb the Britiſh empire.

" *Reſolved*, That whoever would refuſe his conſent to a dutiful petition to the King, tending to undeceive his Majeſty,

jeſty, and from which it could be hoped that the effuſion of one drop of ſubject-blood might be prevented, is not a friend to the Britiſh Conſtitution."

Some time after, *James Wilſon*, Eſq. who had been a Captain of Marines, and a Member of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, ſent a memorial to his Majeſty requeſting leave to lay down his Commiſſion, as (he ſaid) he could not conſiſtently with his conſcience, ſerve in the diſpute then ſubſiſting againſt the Americans. This Gentleman in the year 1760, raiſed 130 men (as the purchaſe of his Company) on his own eſtate in Ireland, and continued from thence until the peace 1763, in actual ſervice, with the higheſt credit to himſelf and unſullied reputation.

Theſe circumſtances ſhew, the opinion both of corporate bodies and private individuals, on that unfortunate conteſt: the manner of its termination demonſtrates how far ſuch opinion was well founded.

In February 1766, a Proclamation was iſſued by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, laying an embargo, for an unlimited time, on all proviſions of whatever kind, except to Great Britain, and the Britiſh dominions not in rebellion, to which ſalted beef, pork, bacon, and butter might be ſent by permiſſion of an Engliſh act of Parliament. This proceeding was conſidered illegal, and the force of ſuch a proclamation was warmly debated in the Houſe of Commons: it was put to the teſt by the ſpirited exertions of a patriotic Member of that Houſe, *George Ogle*, Eſq. who in oppoſition thereto ſoon after paſſed an entry in the Cuſtom-houſe of Dublin for 300 barrels of beef, to be ſhipped in a veſſel then in the harbour of that city, and bound for Bourdeaux.

It has been already mentioned, that during the laſt Seſſion in 1775, a meſſage from his Majeſty was communicated

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to the Houſe of Commons, requiring the uſe of 4000 men out of the army of Ireland for foreign ſervice, and propoſing to replace them by foreign Proteſtant troops, *without any expence to this country :* the firſt propoſal was complied with, but the acceptance of foreign troops refuſed.

The engagement for the diſpoſal of the public money, included in the foregoing meſſage, without the conſent or knowledge of the *Britiſh* Houſe of Commons, rendered this ſubject a matter of diſcuſſion in that body. On the 15th of February 1776, Mr. *Thomas Townſhend* there introduced it as a breach of the privileges of that Houſe, and ſtated his complaint in the following words :

" That the Earl of Harcourt, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, did, on the 23d day of November laſt, in breach of the privilege, and in derogation of the honour and authority of this Houſe, ſend a written meſſage to the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of Ireland, ſigned with his own hand, to the following effect ;" having then recited the meſſage, he moved that a committee be appointed to enquire into the matter of the ſaid complaint, and to report the ſame, as it ſhould appear to them, to the Houſe.

This gentleman ſupported his motion with great ability, and was equally well ſeconded by his friends. They maintained, that the privileges of that Houſe, though applied to themſelves individually or collectively in a more confined ſenſe, were the indubitable right of all the Commons of England, who had one general intereſt in them. That though each of theſe was an object of conſideration, they all ſunk to a very inferior degree of importance, when at all placed in oppoſition to, or compared with, that ineſtimable privilege, the power of granting money, of holding the purſe

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of their conſtituents, and of guarding it from the hands of violence, art, or fraud. This was a truſt of the firſt magnitude, which, in fact, included every other; for while that was preſerved inviolate, the Crown would remain under the conſtitutional controul of Parliament; but whenever that was wreſted by open force, defeated by indirect means, or done away by fraud, the liberties and privileges of the people would be for ever annihilated. They ſhewed the wiſe, commendable, and well-founded jealouſy ſhewn by the Commons, when at any time, even the other Houſe had interfered in the ſmalleſt degree with that great privilege; but that when any attempts of this ſort were made by the Crown, or its miniſterial agents, they immediately caught the alarm; and however they were before divided, had, at all times, uniformly united, as if actuated by one ſoul, in reſiſting the ſmalleſt encroachment upon their power of granting or refuſing their own money, and that of their conſtituents.

They ſaid, that the meſſage in queſtion preſented ſeveral faces, and contained matters of the moſt ſuſpicious and alarming nature. That if the conditions it held out had been accepted, the Parliament of England would have been pledged to that of Ireland for the payment of 8000 men, only to have the uſe of 4000; ſo that Ireland was to be bribed into an acceptance of this inſidious bargain, by retaining her uſual eſtabliſhment as to number, while ſhe was to be eaſed of one third of the burthen. That ſuch a propoſition could only have originated from the worſt deſigns, as the abſurdity, they ſaid, was too glaring to be charged to any degree of folly. But that the nature of the bargain was a matter of little conſequence, when put in competition with that double violation of the Conſtitution, that daring temerity, of engaging for the payment of great ſums of money, and venturing to propoſe the introduction of foreign forces, without the conſent of Parliament.

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Some gentlemen went so far as to say, that no doubt could be entertained of the designs from whence these propositions originated. One was an experiment on the Irish Parliament, to try if it could be induced to consent to the reception of foreign troops, thereby to establish a precedent which might be afterwards applied to other purposes. The other also had its fixed object. It was a scheme, they said, however deep, formed on very simple principles, and went directly to vest in the Crown the virtual power of taxing, as opportunity might serve, both Great Britain and Ireland.—In Ireland, the Minister was to be taught to ask some favour; then England was to be pledged. In England again, when such circumstances occurred, as rendered the attempt impracticable, Ireland was to be taxed, to maintain the supremacy of the British Legislature. In the mean time, it prepared the minds of the people, and habituated them to such notions, as would by degrees be the means of reducing the Parliament of each to be the mere instrumental agents of the Crown, without the least degree of will or independence whatever.

Administration seemed in an odd situation upon this attack. The matter was serious; the offer of introducing foreign troops without the previous consent of Parliament, indeed to introduce them at all as a permanent part of our establishment, could not be a matter of indifference to the Constitution and safety of these kingdoms. On this occasion, no small marks of want of concert and system appeared, in the grounds upon which this measure was explained and defended in the debate. The Minister disavowed those specific instructions, upon which it was supposed the message must have been founded; but acknowledged his general cooperation, in matters relative to the government of Ireland. Both he, and another Lord, then lately come into Administration, disclaimed all responsibility whatever, for the conduct

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of his Majeſty's ſervants in that kingdom. They ſaid in general or ſeparately, that the Viceroy might have miſtaken, or exceeded his inſtructions; that he might not have conveyed his meaning in the cleareſt terms; but that there was no relation between the Britiſh miniſtry and the King's ſervants in that country, which rendered the former in any degree accountable for theſe matters, and conſequently they could not be affected by any cenſure grounded upon them. They, however, juſtified the firſt propoſition in the meſſage, as referring to the promiſe which the King had made to the Parliament of Ireland, that 12,000 of the forces on that eſtabliſhment ſhould always be left for the defence of that kingdom. In that ſenſe, they ſaid, the propoſal was ſtrictly defenſible, and came clearly and legally within the conſtitutional exerciſe of the regal power. As to the ſecond propoſition, it was allowed that the paying for 8000 men, when 4000 only were obtained, appeared to be extremely uncœconomical; that however, if the men could not be obtained upon better terms, the meaſure was defenſible on the ground of neceſſity; and if there were alſo ſufficient reaſons for thinking it better to employ natives than foreigners in North America, they would be a juſtification of the latter part of the ſame propoſition.

Whilſt the official Miniſter ſtood on this ground, a totally different mode of defence was adopted by ſeveral of thoſe who are vulgarly known under the denomination of the King's friends. Some of theſe maintained the high prerogative right, of introducing foreign forces into any part of the dominions, whenever the exigencies of ſtate rendered it expedient or neceſſary. They alſo inſiſted, that the meſſage was worded in a manner perfectly agreeable to official uſage; that the King had a right to bind himſelf by promiſe to his Iriſh Parliament, and to make the preſent application for a releaſe from that promiſe. That the meaſure was in exact

conformity

conformity with, or more properly a part, of thoſe undoubted branches of the prerogative, by which the Crown raiſed troops of its own will, and then applied to Parliament for their payment, or entered into treaties, for the ſame purpoſe, with foreign Princes, and pledged it for a due performance of the articles.

Some others on the ſame ſide, not ſatisfied with endeavouring by explanation to weaken what was ſaid by the mover to be the obvious ſenſe of the words, attempted boldly to prove, that the meſſage meant the direct reverſe. Theſe contended, rather ludicrouſly enough, that the whole Parliament of Ireland had not only totally miſunderſtood the meaning of the meſſage, and miſconceived the Lord Lieutenant's intentions, but that they had gone through a ſeries of public buſineſs founded upon that deception and error, without the ſmalleſt light being offered by the Nobleman in queſtion, though the Speaker had, at the head of the Houſe of Commons, made a public declaration of his and their blindneſs in his preſence. It is very difficult to reconcile the grounds of theſe arguments; and this laſt, of ſuppoſing that the Lord Lieutenant and the whole Iriſh Legiſlature were miſtaken in the ſubject of a meſſage ſent by the one, and received and anſwered by the other, was ſcarcely ſuitable to ſo important a matter.

Some of the gentlemen in oppoſition conſidered the buſineſs as of ſomewhat a leſs dangerous nature, from the ſcheme's not being carried into execution. They held, that the ſpirit and magnanimity of Ireland, in rejecting the foreign troops, and in refuſing to accept the offer for leſſening her own burthen by throwing a part of it upon Great Britain, had already obviated the miſchievous tendency of that meaſure; ſo that the only object of cenſure now remaining, was the evil intention from which it originated. They alſo held, that

that the whole weight of the cenſure would fall upon the Lord Lieutenant, who was merely miniſterial in the buſineſs, while thoſe who were really culpable would not only paſs untouched, but very poſſibly, from ſome crooked motive of policy, might rejoice in the ill-placed effect. After very conſiderable debates, the queſtion being put near twelve at night, the motion for a committee was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 224 to 106.

A motion was then made for laying the votes of the Iriſh Commons, of ſome ſpecified dates, and relative to this buſineſs, before the Houſe, which paſſed in the negative without a diviſion. This was ſucceeded by the following motion, "That it is highly derogatory to the honour, and a violent breach of the privileges of this Houſe, and a dangerous infringement of the Conſtitution, for any perſon whatever to preſume to pledge his Majeſty's Royal word to the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of Ireland, "That any part of the troops upon the eſtabliſhment of that kingdom ſhall, upon being ſent out of that kingdom, become a charge upon Great Britain," without the conſent of this Houſe, or for any perſon to preſume to offer to the Houſe of Commons of the Parliament of Ireland, without the conſent of this Houſe, "That ſuch national troops, ſo ſent out of Ireland, ſhall be replaced by foreign troops, at the expence of Great Britain." The motion for this reſolution was loſt, by putting the previous queſtion, without a diviſion.

CHAPTER VII

Administration of Lord Buckinghamshire.—Session 1777.—Petitions against the Embargo.—Money Bills.—State of Manufactures.—Proceedings in the British Parliament.—Motion in the Commons of Ireland for an Address to his Majesty on the State of the Nation.—Message from his Majesty respecting the conduct of France.—Money raised by Tontine, &c. Bills passed.—Indulgences granted to the Roman Catholics.—Death of Lord Chatham.—His Character.

WE now draw near a period, when the affairs of Ireland, became more interesting. In the beginning of the year 1777, the Earl of *Buckinghamshire* took upon himself the Government of this Country. Before this appointment was made, means were used to smooth the way for a new Viceroy. A great promotion in point of rank, and an enormous augmentation as to number, took place in the Irish Peerage. Five Viscounts were advanced to Earldoms, seven Barons to be Viscounts, and no less than eighteen new Barons created in the course of one day. The Aristocratic part of the Constitution will be found to have increased rapidly both here and in Great Britain, during the present reign.

Parliament assembled under the Vicegerency of Lord Buckinghamshire in October 1777, and at the opening of the Session, his Excellency in his speech to both Houses, with equal prudence and modesty, declined "making any

any profeſſions relative to *his* future conduct;"—"*it is by the tenor of my actions* (ſays he) *that the character of my Adminiſtration muſt be determined.*

A petition was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, from the merchants and traders of *Cork*, ſetting forth that about the month of November 1776, an embargo was laid on all ſhips laden with proviſions, and bound from this kingdom to foreign countries, which was ſtill continued by Government, and had been very ſtrictly enforced: that in conſequence of this long embargo, an extenſive beneficial trade, carried on for ſeveral years by this kingdom to France, Spain, Portugal and Holland, for the ſupply of proviſions, had been not only interrupted, but was in danger of being entirely loſt; the petitioners being informed that the merchants of theſe countries were reſpectively ſtocked and provided from Ruſſia, Sweden, Denmark and Hamburgh, whereby the uſual returns to this kingdom were diſcontinued, new enemies to our commerce were raiſed, and our commodities rendered uſeleſs and unprofitable. That great quantities of ſmall beef, not fit for the uſe of Government or the Sugar Colonies, being made up in that city, and alſo great quantities of beef and butter being annually brought to that market, theſe commodities of a periſhable nature were then decaying for want of a free export, to the great injury of the proprietors in particular and of the kingdom in general. That in ſupport of theſe aſſertions, there then remained on hands ſince the preceding year, a very conſiderable quantity of proviſions, the property of ſeveral merchants in that city, not wanted by Government, and therefore without opportunity of ſale; and although a conſiderable part of the ſeaſon in which theſe articles are uſually made up and exported, had already elapſed, no demand whatſoever then exiſted for them, except for ſuch quantities as were required by Government alone. That his Majeſty's

revenue, which before had received large and conſtant ſupplies from the Cuſtoms of the city of *Cork*, had decreaſed in proportion to the decay of their trade. That this embargo, therefore, at that time, not being warranted by any great ſubſtantial neceſſity, but on the contrary, reſtraining and preventing the diffuſion of trade, was pregnant with the moſt ruinous conſequences, not only to the commercial, but alſo to the landed intereſts of this nation: and therefore the petitioners prayed redreſs.

It is certain the ſituation of Ireland was at this time truly deplorable. In Dublin, numbers of wretched manufacturers had been reduced to extreme indigence, and would have abſolutely periſhed, were they not ſupported by public charity: nor was Government able to make grants, either to promote induſtry, or to relieve the national calamities. Every branch of the revenue failed, and ſuch was the poverty of the nation, that the militia law could not be carried into effect. Ireland could not pay her forces abroad, and was obliged to borrow money from England to pay thoſe at home. The Parliament was neceſſitated to raiſe money at an exorbitant intereſt; the expences in 1777 having amounted to above 80,000l. more than the revenue: 166,000l. was therefore ordered to be borrowed, which was raiſed in the old manner upon debentures at 4l. per cent.

The Speaker upon preſenting the Money Bills on the 24th of December 1777, ſays, "The ſame principle of duty, which directed the proceedings of the laſt Parliament, has eminently diſtinguiſhed the preſent, in this their firſt Seſſion, a certain proof that it is not confined to any claſs of men, but actuates the whole maſs of the people in this kingdom."

"The Commons, however, diſappointed in their hopes that the large ſums which have been raiſed to diſcharge the debts

debts ſucceſſively incurred, and the great addition of *taxes which have been impoſed to prevent any future deficiency*, would have proved effectual for thoſe purpoſes, have now made proviſions for a new arrear of 166,000l. which they could not accompliſh without a loan: to pay the intereſt of which they have been obliged to engage the ſcanty remnant of the former loan duties: in this they have conſidered more the honour of his Majeſty's Government, than the ability of the nation." *

The ſituation of the manufacturers in Dublin at this time, appears from a petition preſented to Parliament this Seſſion, which ſtated, That the petitioners being made acquainted with the extreme diſtreſs of the working manufacturers and their families, conſequent to the want of employment, had for ſome time paſt aſſociated themſelves, in order to deviſe and adminiſter the moſt effectual relief in their power; that aided by the liberal benefactions of many others, they had daily ſupplied the craving neceſſities of above twenty thouſand perſons, numbers of whom muſt elſe have actually periſhed for want of food. That the petitioners, well aware how much more deſirable it was in every reſpect, to enable the poor to earn their own livelihood, than to ſupport them in idleneſs, early directed their attention to that important object, and reſolved to apply as much of the fund, which the public liberality had ſupplied, as could be ſpared from the immediate relief of preſent urgent neceſſity, to the purpoſe of bounties on manufactures purchaſed by wholeſale buyers within a ſhort time; hoping that meaſure might have created a uſeful demand: but they preſently found the cauſe of the diſtreſs to be of too great a magnitude to be affected by their feeble efforts. From the beſt information that had been obtained, and the moſt probable cal-

* Comm. Journ. Vol xviii.

culations that could be formed, the petitioners had reaſon to believe that there were manufactures in Dublin, of wool, worſted, ſilk, linen and cotton, to the amount of at leaſt 300,000l. lying on the hands of the makers, for which there was not any demand, the ſhop-keepers and retailers being already loaded with very heavy ſtocks; whereas that ſeaſon of the year the uſual demand for moſt of theſe manufactures had been ſo great as entirely to take off the goods from the makers. The petitioners, therefore, beg'd leave to obſerve, that ſuch unhappy circumſtances utterly incapacitated the manufacturers from proceeding in their reſpective branches of buſineſs, and giving employment to the poor. That it would be an indignity to the wiſdom and humanity of the Houſe, for the petitioners to attempt to expatiate on the importance and neceſſity of furniſhing employment to the lower orders of the people, or on the preſent affecting miſeries of the poor of the city of Dublin; and it would as ill become them to preſume to point out modes of relief.—That it was only for the petitioners to bring that great ſubject to the view of the Houſe, to ſtate the facts which had come to their knowledge, and when required to ſupport them by evidence; having a moſt perfect confidence that ſuch relief as ſhould appear neceſſary and adequate, would not be leſs freely granted than it was earneſtly wiſhed and prayed for by the petitioners.

Another petition was alſo preſented from the manufacturers of ſilk, wool, linen and cotton, in the city of Dublin and Liberties adjoining; ſetting forth, that the petitioners from want of trade, were overloaded with goods for which there was no demand, amounting to upwards of three hundred thouſand pounds. That having worked up their capitals and credit, and finding no ſale for the goods, they had been under the painful neceſſity of diſcontinuing employment to the working people, whereby they and their families, to the number of many thouſands, were reduced to extreme poverty.

poverty. That the relief of half a pound of oatmeal or of flour, per day, for each perſon, had then ceaſed, the fund raiſed by the humanity of the nobility and gentry for that purpoſe being then nearly exhauſted. That the condition of the unemployed poor, their wives and children, was become truly deplorable, which the petitioners humbly laid before that Houſe, hoping for relief only from the wiſdom of Parliament. *

Such was the miſerable ſituation of Iriſh affairs; and the conſequences affected ſeveral perſons in England, who had eſtates in this country, and became in ſome degree partakers in the common calamity. A committee was therefore appointed by the Houſe of Commons in Great Britain, to take into conſideration the trade of Ireland; and the following reſolutions were paſſed: "That the Iriſh might be permitted to export directly to the Britiſh plantations, or to the ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa, all the produce or the manufacture of the kingdom, wool or woollen manufacture only excepted, or commodities of the growth or manufactures of Great Britain, legally imported from that kingdom; as alſo foreign certificate goods, under the ſame condition. That all the goods, the produce of any of the Britiſh ſettlements, or of the ſettlements on the coaſts of Africa, *tobacco* excepted, be allowed to be directly imported into Ireland. That glaſs, manufactured in Ireland, be permitted to be exported from it, to all places, Great Britain excepted. That cotton yarn, the manufacture of Ireland, be allowed to be imported into Great Britain; and that Iriſh ſail-cloth and cordage ſhould have the ſame privilege." Bills were accordingly framed on theſe reſolutions, but the trading and manufacturing towns of Great Britain ſoon took the alarm; they conſidered every increaſe of the trade of Ireland, not only as prejudicial to their intereſt, but an encroachment

* Comm. Journ. Vol. xviii.

croachment on their rights: conſequently, many petitions were preſented to the Britiſh Parliament, againſt the intended indulgence to Ireland.—Counſel and evidence were at different times heard on this occaſion, and at length, in conſequence of ſome compromiſe between the ſupporters and oppoſers of theſe bills, although the former ſhewed a great ſuperiority of ſtrength, it was notwithſtanding thought expedient to give up for the preſent, moſt of the advantages, that were originally intended for this country. Some enlargement, however, was given to the linen trade, particularly to the article of cheques, and ſome openings given in the African and Weſt India trades, which did not before exiſt. Thus the meaſure at its final tranſit through the Britiſh Parliament, might be rather conſidered as an opening to future ſervice, and an earneſt of good intention, than as affording any immediate benefit, or even as holding out any future advantage of any great importance to Ireland.

On the 6th of February 1778, it was moved in the Commons "that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly to lay ourſelves at his Majeſty's feet, to aſſure him of our unſhaken affection to his Perſon and Government, to lay before him the ſtate of this nation, declaring our readineſs and zeal to ſupport, in the moſt honourable manner, the neceſſary expences of his Government, and the dignity of his Crown; that, however, in the preſent Seſſion of Parliament we have granted the ſupplies, which were aſked for the ſupport of the preſent eſtabliſhments, yet we ſhould deceive his Majeſty if we ſuffered him from thence to conceive that the expence of thoſe eſtabliſhments could meet with the continued ſupport, or entire approbation of his faithful Commons.

That the expences of his Majeſty's Government have ſo encreaſed in the courſe of twenty years, that the charge of the Civil Liſt alone has nearly doubled that period.

That

That one of the many cauſes of that encreaſe is the rapid and aſtoniſhing growth of the Penſion Liſt, now more than ever an object of univerſal complaint; a Liſt which does now greatly exceed the expences of all other charges of the Civil Liſt, even in its preſent ſtate, and does conſiderably exceed the whole Civil Liſt at *Lady-day*, 1757; and is nearly double the charge of the Penſion Liſt at that period when it was ſo extravagant, that the Commons, ſenſible of its weight, entered unanimouſly into the following reſolution, which, with many others againſt it, were laid before his late Majeſty:

"Reſolved, that the granting of ſo much of the public revenue in penſions is an improvident diſpoſition of the revenue, an injury to the Crown, and detrimental to the public."

That this encreaſe in the Penſion Liſt is more ſeverely felt by his Majeſty's ſubjects, when they conſider that its preſent extravagance does not appear to have any foundation or excuſe in the public ſervice, or private want of thoſe who principally compoſe it; and his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects have reaſon to believe, that in a Liſt ſo greatly augmented in favour of ſuch perſons, and in times of accumulating debt, the real names of ſome of thoſe penſioners, and the merits of more, have not been truly laid before him.

That another cauſe of this encreaſe is a number of new, great and additional ſalaries, in the nature of penſions, annexed to leſſer offices, moſtly ſinecure, or of ſo inſignificant a truſt, that the frugality of former times allotted to them ſmall ſalaries.

That another cauſe is the creation of new employments, or the annexing great ſalaries to old offices that became obſolete, becauſe they were uſeleſs.

That

That offices ſo created or revived, or endowed with great additional ſalaries, are become a heavy charge upon his Majeſty's faithful ſubjects, unneceſſary to the dignity of his Crown, and under a Prince of leſs virtue, dangerous to the Conſtitution.

That his Majeſty's predeceſſors were graciouſly pleaſed to confine military contingencies and concordatum to certain bounds, but in the laſt two years, during a conſiderable part of which time a great proportion of the army was not on the eſtabliſhment, the exceedings on military contingencies were greater by far than in the two former years, and greater than ever was known in *Ireland*, of which unexampled exceſs, a very conſiderable part does not appear to be expended for military purpoſes, but as an inferior Penſion Liſt, applied to the uſe of perſons, many of whom, from their occupation or ſex, cannot be comprehended within the meaning of a military contingency.

That the charge for exceedings on concordatum, like thoſe of military contingencies, has greatly exceeded its limit, and in its exceſs and application is a grievance.

That the original eſtabliſhment was 10,000l. that the exceedings of *Lady-day*, 1777, was above 50,000l. an exceeding greater than ever was known before, part of which was for ſecret ſervice, an expence ſuſpicious from its nature, and alarming from its growth.

That the exceedings on military contingencies and concordatum are the more an object of our jealouſy, as we preſume they are the more unbounded, becauſe they do not come under the previous inſpection of his Majeſty, and to this we attribute the abuſes which have prevailed in both, and the application of great ſums of public money to purpoſes

poſes which do not ſeem to belong to ſaid eſtabliſhments, or to any branch of the expence of Government.

That in 1773, his Majeſty's faithful Commons did grant ſeveral new duties; that they were induced to ſuch grant by a reliance then had on the faith of his Majeſty's Miniſters: plighted by the moſt ſolemn aſſurances publicly made to his Commons, that the then expences of Government ſhould be greatly retrenched, ſo that the new grants of the people, and the ſtipulated retrenchment by the Miniſtry ſhould unite to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of equalization, and put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt.

That his Majeſty's faithful Commons have performed their part of the engagement, by raiſing the revenue; but that the expences of this Government, inſtead of being diminiſhed, have been beyond example encreaſed, inſomuch that the Commons did, in this Seſſion of Parliament, come unanimouſly to the following reſolutions:

"Reſolved, that the net produce of the unappropriated revenue for the two years, ending at *Lady day*, 1777, as ſtated in the Accomptant General's Paper, No. V. including occaſional payments, exceeded the produce of the ſaid revenue for the two years, ending *Lady-day*, 1775, in the ſum of 214,295l. 5s. 11$\frac{1}{8}$d.

"Reſolved, that the charge of the military eſtabliſhment, from *Lady-day*, 1775, to *Lady-day*, 1777, was leſs than the charge of that eſtabliſhment in the two former years, in the ſum of 98,240l. 16s. 4$\frac{3}{4}$d.

Reſolved, that it appears from the Accomptant General's Paper, No. III. that the total amount of public charges, excluſive of appropriated funds, and deducting the charge

on

on account of *Duncannon* Fort, for the two years, ending *Lady-day*, 1777, was 1,629,073l. 5s. 2½d. and exceeded the revenue applicable thereto, in the ſum of 82,130l. 19s. 1d."

That it appears that the higheſt revenue ever known in this country does not equal the expences of Government, even when a great proportion of the army is not on the eſtabliſhment.

That the bounty of his Majeſty's Commons has had little effect, other than to encourage new and unneceſſary expences, whereby his faithful Commons are ſubject to a ſtill accumulating debt, and likewiſe to thoſe taxes granted for the ſole purpoſe of putting an end to ſo ruinous a practice.

That as the expences of Government, when the army return, will be conſiderably greater, ſo the revenue upon an average calculation, will be probably leſs than in the two laſt years: That the revenues have already gone back in the half year, ending laſt *September*, above 10,000l.

That accordingly his Majeſty's Miniſters, finding themſelves unable to ſupport the preſent charges of Government, without encreaſing the debt of the nation, though aided by all the new taxes, and though a great proportion of the army was not upon the eſtabliſhment, did apply for a loan of 166,000l. bringing down the arrear to the 29th of laſt *September*, a method which has not been the uſual reſort of his Majeſty's Miniſters, and which beſpeaks their ſenſe of the ſtate of the nation.

That, at the concluſion of the laſt war, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to order the then Chief Governor of *Ireland*, to recommend to his faithful Commons a diminution

of

of the then debt, and a reduction of the then expences of Government; that the debt of the nation, as reſolved, was then 521,161l. 16s. 0¾d. that the debt of the nation at *Lady-day*, 1777, was not leſs than 834,086l. 19s. 3d. and the nation is likewiſe ſubject to the payment of certain life annuities, at the rate of 6l. per cent. for the ſum of 440,000l. beſides 166,000l. provided for by loan this Seſſion of Parliament; in all 1,440,086l. 19s. 3d. of which the greater part has been accumulated ſince the peace, and more particularly within theſe few years laſt paſt, notwithſtanding the new taxes granted to put an end to the ruinous practice of running in debt.

That the loan duties were the laſt Seſſion of Parliament encreaſed; and when the loan of the preſent Seſſion ſhall be reſorted to, will in all probability be exhauſted.

That the expences which have out-run the abilities of the people appear the more alarming, becauſe his Majeſty's faithful Commons cannot be apprized what bounds are intended to be put to them.

That even though we could be induced to think that ſuch expences were the objects of ſupport, not of retrenchment, yet an attempt to lay new duties upon import, export or home conſumption, would probably depreſs the old duty, and hazard or deſtroy the weakly remains of the trade of *Ireland*.

That we humbly hope his Majeſty will forgive us for having delayed ſo long to lay before him the real ſtate of this country, a country labouring under the ſevereſt reſtrictions in trade, and under a heavy weight of taxes, which are yet exceeded by her expence.

That

That we have waited as far as was conſiſtent with our duty to his Majeſty, or to thoſe whom we repreſent, confiding in the ſolemn and repeated aſſurances of oeconomy from time to time received from his Majeſty's Miniſters: that at length harraſſed by a courſe of unneceſſary expence, we can no longer refrain from laying the ſtate of this nation at the foot of the Throne, and without preſuming to point out any particular method of redreſs, we do moſt humbly rely upon his Royal virtues, and implore his protection."

This motion being negatived, a motion was afterwards made that an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, "To aſſure his Majeſty of our moſt unfeigned attachment to his Majeſty's Royal Perſon and Government; to beſeech him to accept of our moſt humble and hearty thanks for that benign attention which his Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed to manifeſt to the encouragement and extenſion of the trade of this kingdom; to aſſure him that our hearts overflow with gratitude for the indulgence which we have already experienced; but that while we ſee the trade of this country yet ſtruggling with the greateſt difficulties, commercial credit ſunk, and great numbers of unemployed manufacturers on the point of periſhing for want, we cannot but lament that what has hitherto been done appears inadequate to the purpoſes of a wiſe and good Prince, and a juſt and generous people; that in this ſituation we are obliged to look up to his Majeſty's paternal wiſdom and goodneſs for ſuccour; to hope that what has been already granted to us, is but an earneſt of a further and effectual extenſion of our commerce; that we are perſuaded that ſuch a meaſure would be equally conducive to the proſperity of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, whoſe intereſts we ſhall ever conſider as inſeparable, and that no other adequate means can be found to relieve the diſtreſſes, ſupport the credit, or invigorate the commerce of this kingdom."

In

In consequence of the situation of public affairs, the following Address was agreed to by the Commons, on the 23d of March, 1778, viz.:

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses in Parliament assembled:

"*Most gracious Sovereign,*

"We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of *Ireland*, in Parliament assembled, in the present critical situation of affairs beg leave humbly to approach your Majesty with the most unfeigned assurances of loyalty, duty and attachment to your Majesty's Royal Person and Government, and to declare that at a time when the public tranquillity is in danger of being further disturbed by the interposition of a foreign power, we feel ourselves called upon to take the earliest opportunity of expressing our zeal for the dignity of your Majesty's Crown, and our earnest wishes and warmest regards for the prosperity of *Great Britain*: we think it at this time peculiarly incumbent on us to assure your Majesty, that your Majesty may rely with the greatest confidence on the entire affection of your faithful subjects of *Ireland*, and depend on their co-operation chearfully with your Majesty to the utmost of their ability, in asserting the honour of your Majesty's Government, and establishing the security of your dominions."

On the 27th of March 1778, the following Message was delivered to the House from the Lord Lieutenant, viz.:

"I have his Majesty's commands to acquaint you, that his Majesty having been informed, by order of the *French* King, that a treaty of amity and commerce has been signed between

between the Court of *France*, and certain perſons employed by his Majeſty's revolted ſubjects in *North America*, has judged it neceſſary to direct that a copy of the declaration delivered by the *French* Ambaſſador to Lord Viſcount *Weymouth* be laid before the Houſe of Commons; and at the ſame time to acquaint them that his Majeſty has thought proper, in conſequence of this offenſive communication on the part of the Court of *France*, to ſend orders to his Ambaſſador to withdraw from that Court.

"That his Majeſty is perſuaded, that the juſtice and good faith of his conduct towards foreign Powers, and the ſincerity of his wiſhes to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe, will be acknowledged by all the world; and his Majeſty truſts that he ſhall not ſtand reſponſible for the diſturbance of that tranquillity, if he ſhould find himſelf called upon to reſent ſo unprovoked and ſo unjuſt an aggreſſion on the honour of his Crown, and the eſſential intereſt of his kingdoms, contrary to the moſt ſolemn aſſurances, ſubverſive of the law of nations, and injurious to the rights of every ſovereign Power in Europe.

"That his Majeſty, relying with the firmeſt confidence on the zealous and affectionate ſupport of his faithful people, is determined to be prepared to exert, if it ſhall become neceſſary, all the force and reſources of his kingdoms, which he truſts will be found adequate to repel every inſult and attack, and to maintain and uphold the power and reputation of his dominions." *

In conſequence of this Meſſage, the Commons voted a loyal and affectionate Addreſs to his Majeſty, expreſſive of their determination to exert every means in their power for the honour and preſervation of his Crown and dignity.

Thirty

* Comm. Journ. Vol. xviii.

Thirty thouſand pounds were ordered to be raiſed during this Seſſion, by a *Tontine*, at 6l. per cent.; however, ſuch was the ſtate of public credit at the time, and the difficulty of raiſing money, that it could not be procured even at a rate ſo high, and the terms were obliged to be enlarged to $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This circumſtance clearly proves the aſſertion of a moſt reſpectable author,* that it is even queſtionable whether in time of peace, money can be raiſed in a favourable manner upon life annuities; but (ſays he) there can be no doubt that in time of war it is impoſſible for the public to make any tolerable bargain with money lenders, founded upon any uncertainty or contingency.

The following Bills were paſſed amongſt others, viz.:—A Bill to prevent malicious cutting and wounding, and to puniſh offenders called *chalkers*.—A Bill for the further encouragement of the *Whale Fiſheries* carried on from Ireland. A Bill for the improvement of waſte and uncultivated lands. A Bill for eſtabliſhing a *Militia* in this kingdom.—A Bill for the relief of his Majeſty's ſubjects of this kingdom, profeſſing the Popiſh Religion.—A Bill for the further advancement of trade; and, a Bill for improving the Police of the City of Dublin.—On the 14th of Auguſt 1778, the Parliament was prorogued.

During this Seſſion, the Roman Catholics were empowered to take leaſes for any term of years not exceeding 999, or any number of lives not exceeding five. They were enabled to purchaſe or take by grant, limitation, deſcent or deviſe, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in this kingdom, and to diſpoſe of them by will or otherwiſe, to deſcend according to the courſe of common law, deviſable and transferable in like manner as the lands of Proteſtants.—

* Sir J. Sinclair's Hiſt. Reven.

Certain penal acts reſpecting the hearing and celebrating of Maſs, forbidding Catholics to keep a horſe of above the value of 5l.—empowering Grand Juries to levy from them in their reſpective diſtricts, money to the amount of ſuch loſſes as were ſuſtained by the depredations of privateers, and requiring to provide Proteſtant watchmen in towns, and forbidding Catholics to inhabit the city of Limerick or ſuburbs, were all repealed. So much of former acts as forbade them to teach ſchool publicly, or to inſtruct youth of their own profeſſion in private, was alſo repealed; and a law was enacted to permit them to have the guardianſhip, care, and tuition of their own children.

Amongſt the events of this time, not only intereſting to this country, but to every part of the Britiſh empire, we cannot omit the loſs of the truly great and celebrated *Wm. Pitt*, Earl of *Chatham*. His Lordſhip died the 11th of May 1778, univerſally regretted by every friend to the conſtitutional freedom, and real proſperity of theſe kingdoms.

The Adminiſtration of that diſtinguiſhed character may juſtly be regarded as the temporary triumph of the people. "By their voice, it has been ſaid, he was called into power. By their verdict he was ſupported. He carried his meaſures by the unbought ſuffrages of their repreſentatives. An unanimity of this ſort in Parliament was altogether unexampled. And when he fell, he fell covered with popular honours; the gratitude of a mighty people followed, and illuſtrated him; and their indignation, and their curſe, was the inheritance of his ſucceſſors."

CHAP

CHAPTER VIII.

Debates in the Britiſh Parliament relative to Ireland.—The latter diſappointed in its commercial expectations.—Non-importation Agreement.—Proceedings of the City of Dublin.—Reſolutions of the Sheriff and Grand Jury at Waterford.—National Debt.---Particular Circumſtances reſpecting Ireland. Opening of the Seſſion in October 1779.—Lord Lieutenant's Speech.—State of the Treaſury.—Vote of Thanks to the Volunteer Corps.—Addreſs to his Majeſty.—Debates thereupon.—Proceedings in Great Britain --Reſolutions in the Iriſh Parliaments.---Speaker's Speech on preſenting the Money Bills. Mutiny Bill made perpetual.—Sugar Bill altered.—Newry Petition.—Proceedings on the Mutiny Bill.—Printers cenſured by Parliament.—Addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant.—Bills paſſed.—Cloſe of the Seſſion.—Lord Lieutenant's Speech.

WE muſt now attend for a moment to ſome proceedings of the Britiſh Parliament reſpecting this country.—Toward the concluſion of the year 1778, certain Members of the Houſe of Commons in England, ſenſible of the miſerable ſituation to which Ireland was then reduced, declared their intention to move for a bill or bills, for granting commercial relief to this kingdom.

Notwithſtanding this opening, ſeveral things ſeemed to be wanting to afford a proſpect of ſucceſs to the propoſed meaſure. It was to be lamented that no regular plan had been formed, either with reſpect to the preciſe nature, or to the extent of the relief which was to be expected. We ſhall bring together in one point of view, without any particular regard to time or occaſion, a few of the reaſons that were urged at the different periods in which this buſineſs was agitated in Great Britain, whether in ſupport of, or oppoſition to the intended relief of Ireland.

It was contended on the one ſide, that leaving all ideas of liberality and of juſtice out of the queſtion, England was at this time impelled by abſolute neceſſity, by a regard to her own preſent ſecurity and future preſervation, to cheriſh and preſerve the remaining parts of the empire, and to concentrate all the people, in one common bond of union and defence, which could only be done by a general communion of intereſts, and participation of benefits. That the people of Ireland expected, and had the ſtrongeſt right to expect relief. That this was no time, after the heavy loſs of the Colonies, and of American commerce, to hazard that of the ſiſter kingdom, whether by invaſion or ſeparation, one of which was already threatened, and the other equally to be apprehended, if that relief was not ſpeedily afforded, which was now expected and propoſed. That however exemplary and invincible the loyalty of Ireland had hitherto been, and however ſingular her long enduring ſufferings, patience and forbearance; there were certain fixed limits to thoſe qualities and diſpoſitions of the mind, beyond which human nature was incapable of paſſing, and was even liable to the danger of recoiling with great violence in the attempt. But if either of thoſe dreaded events, of ſeparation or conqueſt, ſhould take place, and that Great Britain ſhould ſtill retain the inglorious and unprofitable boaſt of remaining the ſole tyrants of the ſoil, ſhe would even in that caſe infallibly loſe all that could ſtamp any value upon it—the inhabitants. For it was evident, that as ſoon as a peace ſhould take place, if ſuch oppreſſion and miſery ſtill continued, the people of Ireland would inevitably, under the impulſe of the firſt law of nature, emigrate to America, whither they would convey their manufactures, arts and induſtry. That it was already too well known, that the American armies were principally recruited, and their beſt troops in a great degree compoſed of thoſe unhappy emigrants from Ireland, who, being driven from their

their country by want and oppreſſion, were compelled, under an equal neceſſity, to take up arms in a quarrel, in which they had no natural intereſt, and to ſhed their blood in a conteſt with their friends and brethren.

It was further ſtated, that the Iriſh were in many great articles of Britiſh merchandize and manufacture, the beſt and moſt valuable cuſtomers: and from them, England had long derived great additional wealth and power. Under a wiſe and liberal Government, therefore, Ireland would be capable of affording infinitely greater advantages to her ſiſter kingdom, to whom the fruits of every benefit of commerce afforded by her, would come back with accumulated intereſt.

To juſtify theſe aſſertions, and eſtabliſh theſe facts, it was ſhewed from certain papers laid before the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, that the exports from England to Ireland on an average of ten years, amounted to 2,057,000l yearly.—That the exports from Ireland into England, upon an average of the ſame time, did not exceed 1,353,000l. by the year. That conſequently the balance of trade in favour of England exceeded 7,000,000l. ſterling, at that time. That this was excluſive of the immenſe ſums drawn from Ireland every year, in rents to abſentees, penſions, and the emoluments of places to thoſe who had never ſeen this country, as alſo appeals in law and equity, buſineſs, pleaſures, &c.

It was alſo ſhewed, that the decreaſe of the exports from England to Ireland, during the laſt two years of calamity in this country, amounted upon an average to no leſs than 716,000l. per year. From whence appeared the prodigious loſs to the revenue of Great Britain, as well as to the trade and manufactures, that muſt proceed from a continuance, and a conſequent increaſe of the diſtreſſes of Ireland. Upon

the whole, it was aſked, whether ſuch a country, and ſuch benefits as were derived from it, were to be wantonly played with, and committed to unneceſſary danger and riſk? If it admitted of a doubt, whether it were better to afford a juſt and reaſonable indulgence, or to hazard the loſs of a nation? Whether to have the trade, manufactures and inhabitants of Ireland, transferred to America, or rendered a conſtituent part of the Britiſh empire, and of its common ſtock of wealth, ſtrength and defence? And whether a whole nation ſhould be ſacrificed to a ſingle town, to the monopoly of a particular diſtrict, or to the ill judged clamours and abſurd prejudices of any body of manufacturers whatever? Gentlemen were requeſted to profit by experience, to recollect the ſmall condeſcenſion, which a few years before, would have preſerved and gratified all the American colonies.

On the other ſide, it was alledged that the diſtreſſes of Ireland were not ſo great as had been repreſented; but ſuppoſing the melancholy deſcription to be really true, it was not ſo much to be attributed to the trade-laws in England, as to the mal-adminiſtration here; to faults in the internal Conſtitution of our Government, and to general miſmanagement in the conduct of our affairs. That theſe were matters which ſhould be enquired into and redreſſed, and without that no ſubſtantial relief could be afforded. It was ſaid, that the unhappy conſequences of the American war were equally felt in both countries; that Ireland bore no more than her ſhare of the calamity; that if her people were famiſhing, the manufacturers in England were alſo ſtarving; for that the plenty or cheapneſs of proviſions were of no avail to thoſe who wanted the means to procure them, and who were rendered incapable of obtaining the means, through the general lack of employment which then prevailed. That in this ſtate of common diſtreſs whatever might

might be the ſympathetic feelings of Great Britain toward this country, they muſt be more ſtrongly and naturally attracted by ſufferings at home and immediately within view: and that however alarming a rebellion in Ireland might be, it could not be ſo much a matter of apprehenſion as one in England, which event was equally probable, if any addition were made to the ſufferings and grievances which the manufacturers there endured, by a ſurrender of thoſe advantages in trade, which they conſidered as their birth-right.

Such were the arguments on each ſide of this queſtion.—The firſt propoſitions held out in favour of Ireland, altho' not ſpecifically applied or moved for, went to the granting this country a general exportation, in all matters, except with reſpect to woollens; the eſtabliſhment of a cotton manufactory under that right, with the liberty of trading to and from America, the Weſt Indies, and the coaſt of Africa. But theſe being thought on the other ſide, too general and extenſive, as well as too alarming to the Britiſh manufacturers, they were by degrees narrowed, until at length Lord *Newhaven*, who conducted this buſineſs in the detail, entered into a kind of compromiſe, to give up the general outline of relief, and to confine himſelf to ſome particular and ſpecific propoſition. He accordingly in March 1779, moved that the Houſe ſhould (on a given day) reſolve itſelf into a committee to take into conſideration the acts of Parliament relating to the importation of ſugars from the Weſt Indies into Ireland.

The object of this motion was to repeal that clauſe in the act of navigation, by which all ſhips laden with ſugars were compelled to bring their cargoes directly to *England*, from whence the quantity neceſſary for *Ireland* was afterwards to be re-exported to it.

The Britiſh Miniſter ſeemed to keep himſelf clear of this buſineſs, and the queſtion was fairly debated without any other appearance of party, than what merely aroſe from the locality of repreſentation; and after a full diſcuſſion, was carried by a majority of 47 to 42.

In the mean time, the clamour without doors had been much fainter, and the oppoſition from the manufacturing diſtricts weaker than they had been in the preceding Seſſion, and even than had been now expected. Glaſgow and Manchester, however, petitioned; and ſome of the Miniſter's late partizans began now to accuſe him of duplicity, which they charged to his ſyſtem of neutrality. This clamour and reproach ſuddenly brought him to a determination; and ſetting his face totally againſt the propoſed relief, it was accordingly rejected upon a cloſe diviſion; the queſtion for the Speaker's quitting the chair, in order that the Houſe might, on the day appointed, reſolve itſelf into a committee, being loſt only by a majority of 62 to 58.

Other attempts were made in the Britiſh Parliament on behalf of this country, but they proved unſucceſsful; tho' in his Majeſty's gracious ſpeech at the concluſion of the Seſſion he was pleaſed to declare that he had ſeen with entire approbation the zeal which Parliament had manifeſted for the ſupport of the juſt and neceſſary war in which he was engaged, nor was he leſs ſenſible of their attention to the ſtate of the kingdom of *Ireland*.—"My paternal affection (ſaid he) for all my people makes me ſincerely anxious for the happineſs and proſperity of every part of my dominions."

Whilſt the affairs of Ireland were thus before the Britiſh Parliament, the feelings of the nation were ſuſpended by the hope of relief; but when it was found, that the Britiſh Miniſter, in whom they had confided, had deſerted their

cauſe,

cauſe, and that their hopes were deluſive, the diſcontents of the people, exaſperated by diſappointment, kindled into a flame. † Two laws had paſſed the Britiſh Parliament, one permitting the Iriſh to plant tobacco, the other to encourage the culture of hemp. But theſe were received with contempt, as they could be conſidered only as a mockery on the Iriſh nation.

Aſſociations were now entered into againſt the importation of Britiſh commodities, and for the encouragement of Iriſh manufactures. At an Aſſembly held at the Tholſel of the city of Dublin, the following reſolutions were agreed to, viz. :

"Reſolved, that the unjuſt, illiberal, and impolitic oppoſition given by many ſelf-intereſted people of *Great Britain* to the propoſed encouragement of the trade and commerce of this kingdom, originated in avarice and ingratitude.

"Reſolved, that we will not, directly or indirectly, import or uſe any goods or wares, the produce or manufactures of Great Britain, which can be produced or manufactured in this kingdom, 'till an enlightened policy, founded on principles of juſtice, ſhall appear to actuate the inhabitants of certain manufacturing towns of Great Britain, who have taken ſo active a part in oppoſing the regulations propoſed in favour of the trade of Ireland; and till they appear to entertain ſentiments of reſpect and affection for their fellow-ſubjects of this kingdom."

Shortly after, at an aſſizes holden at *Waterford*, the High Sheriff, Grand Jury, and a number of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants aſſembled for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration

† View of Iriſh Affairs, Vol. 2d.

ation the ruinous ſtate of the trade and manufactures, and the alarming decline in the value of the ſtaple commodities of this kingdom; and looking upon it as an indiſpenſable duty that they owed their country and themſelves, to reſtrain by every means in their power theſe growing evils, they came to and ſigned the following reſolutions:

"Reſolved, that we, our families, and all whom we can influence, ſhall from this day, wear and make uſe of the manufactures of this country, and this country *only*, until ſuch time as all partial reſtrictions on our trade, impoſed by the illiberal and contracted policy of our ſiſter kingdom, be removed; but if in conſequence of this our reſolution, the manufacturers (whoſe intereſt we have more immediately under conſideration) ſhould act fraudulently, or combine to impoſe upon the public, we ſhall hold ourſelves no longer bound to countenance and ſupport them.

"Reſolved, that we will not deal with any merchant or ſhopkeeper, who ſhall, at any time hereafter, be detected in impoſing any foreign manufacture, as the manufacture of this country."

Reſolutions of this kind now became general, in conſequence of which efforts, the manufactures of Ireland began to revive, and the demand for Britiſh goods in a great meaſure decreaſed; a circumſtance which tended to produce a diſpoſition in Great Britain, to attend to the complaints of this country, different indeed from that which Ireland had hitherto experienced.

The national debt of Ireland in 1777, amounted to 834,086l. and upwards. This debt had ariſen from the following cauſes: the expence of the late war, the heavy peace eſtabliſhment in the year 1763, the increaſe of that eſtabliſhment

eſtabliſhment in the year 1769, the ſums paid from 1759, to forces out of the kingdom, the great increaſe of penſions and other additional charges on the civil eſtabliſhment, which, however conſiderable, bears but a ſmall proportion to the increaſed military expences; the falling of the revenue, and the ſums paid for bounties and public works.—The latter, however, do not ſeem to have operated to increaſe this debt in ſo large a degree as ſome perſons have imagined, for though the amount was large, yet no part of the money was ſent out of the kingdom, and ſeveral of the grants were for uſeful purpoſes, ſome of which made returns to the public and to the Treaſury exceeding the amount of thoſe grants. †

When theſe facts are conſidered, no doubt can be entertained, but that the ſuppoſed wealth, and miſtaken eſtimate of the ability of Ireland, which occaſioned her being called upon to bear part of the Britiſh burthen during the war, had led to her real poverty, particularly when it is alſo known, that from the year 1751 to 1778, the ſums remitted by Ireland to pay troops abroad, amounted to the enormous ſum of 1,401,925l. 19s. 4d.

To ſhew farther the abſolute neceſſity of Great Britain's opening to Ireland at this time ſome new means of acquiring, it was only neceſſary to view the annual balance of exports and imports, returned from the entries in the different Cuſtom-houſes in favour of this country, on all her trade with the whole world, in every year from 1768 to 1778, and compare them with the remittances made from Ireland to England in each of thoſe years. The balance in favour of Ireland on her general trade appears by thoſe returns to have been in 1776, 606,190l. 11s. 0d.; in 1777, 24,203l. 3s. 10d.; in 1778, 386,384l. 5s. 7d.; and taken at a medium

† Letter on Commercial Reſtr.

medium of eleven years from 1768 to 1778, both inclusive, it amounted to the sum of 605,083l. 7s. 5d. The sums remitted from Ireland to Great Britain for rents, interest of money, pensions, salaries, and profits of offices, amounted at the lowest computation from 1768 to 1773, to 100,000l. yearly; and from 1773, when the *Tontines* were introduced, from which period large sums were borrowed from England, those remittances were considerably increased, and in 1777, amounted to no less than between twelve and thirteen thousand pounds yearly. Ireland, therefore, at this period, paid to Great Britain double the sum that she collected from the whole world in all the trade which Great Britain allowed her. It would be difficult (says the writer last cited) to find a similar instance in the history of mankind.

We state these circumstances from the best authority, to shew the situation of Ireland, at this time, when she began to struggle for commercial freedom.

The Parliament of Ireland again met on the 12th of October 1779.—The Lord Lieutenant in his speech took notice of the general state of affairs, in the following words:

"At a time when the trade and commerce of this kingdom are in a more particular manner the objects of public attention, it were to be wished that the general tranquillity, ever desirable, had been restored, so as to have left you entirely at leisure to deliberate on those great and important subjects; but I am persuaded you will not permit any interests, however dear to you, to impede your efforts, or disturb your unanimity at this most important period, and I have it expressly in command from his Majesty to assure you, that the cares and solicitudes inseparable from a state of hostility have not prevented him from turning his Royal mind to the interests and distresses of this kingdom with the

most

moſt affectionate concern, of which, the money remitted to this country for its defence, when England had every reaſon to apprehend a moſt formidable and immediate attack, affords a convincing proof. Anxious for the happineſs of his people, his Majeſty will moſt chearfully co-operate with his Parliaments in ſuch meaſures as may promote the common intereſts of all his people.

" It is with great concern I am to inform you, that on account of the extraordinary decline of the revenues, the very liberal ſupplies of the laſt Seſſion have proved inadequate to the exigencies of Government, ſo that contrary to my moſt ſanguine expectations and moſt earneſt endeavours, there is a conſiderable arrear now to be provided for.

" The united efforts and great military preparations of the Houſe of *Bourbon* ſeem only to have rouſed the courage, and called forth the exertions of his Majeſty's brave and loyal ſubjects of this kingdom; and I have only to lament that the exhauſted ſtate of the Treaſury has hitherto put it out of my power to give thoſe exertions the moſt extenſive and conſtitutional operation, by carrying the militia law into execution."

It is to be obſerved, that ſo deficient was the revenue, and ſuch the exhauſted ſtate of the Treaſury in May 1779, that 50,000l. was obliged to be remitted from England for the ſubſiſtence of the army, and other military purpoſes.

This and the former year had been productive of a great plenty of corn; but the manufacturers were not able to buy, and many thouſands of them were (as we before obſerved) ſupported by charity—the conſequence was, that corn fell to ſo low a price, that the farmers, in many places, were unable

unable to pay their rents, and were every where under great difficulties.† The revenue had declined in the two years ending at Lady-day 1779, near 220,000l. from the produce of the two preceding years.

France had now resolved to unite her arms to those of America, which still rendered the situation of this country more critical and precarious: and at length the combined fleet of our enemies rode triumphant in the channel, menacing the kingdom with immediate invasion. The affrighted maritime towns made application to Government for protection, part of the established forces of the nation having been called away to support the war in America; the Chief Governor was obliged to confess himself unable to afford any effectual assistance in this alarming state of urgent necessity: the people of Ireland, therefore, resolved to defend themselves. Volunteer Corps were formed in every part of the kingdom; their force and respectability saved the country from ruin. The fleets of the enemy, alarmed at our military preparations, beheld the banners of defiance, and fled with precipitation from our coasts. Parliament bore testimony to the services and loyalty of these patriotic guardians of Ireland, in votes of thanks to the several Volunteer Corps, "*for their spirited exertions at this time, so necessary in defence of this country.*"

The Parliament began now seriously to consider the distresses of the nation, and the necessity for making some exertions towards the emancipation of her commerce: and the House of Commons declared its sentiments on that subject in their Address to his Majesty, wherein they said—"We beg leave humbly to represent to your Majesty, that it is *not by temporary expedients*, but by *a free trade alone*, that this

† Let. on Com. Restr.

this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.—And from your Majesty's gracious declaration, a declaration imprinted in our hearts in characters of indelible gratitude, that "*anxious for the happiness of all your people, you will most chearfully co-operate with your Parliaments in such measures as may promote the common interests of all your subjects,*" we draw the happiest presages in favour of a measure *essential* to the *existence* of this kingdom, and which appears to us conducive to the interests of *Great Britain.*

"Permit us to assure your Majesty, that we have every disposition to go as far as the national abilities will, in making a provision for the honourable support of your Majesty's Government; but with hearts glowing with the warmest wishes for the prosperity and glory of the *British* empire, and full of zeal against the common enemy, we have the mortification to find that the limited state of our trade and commerce must, by narrowing our resources, set bounds to our liberality, very far short of our earnest inclinations."*

As this may be considered the commencement of those efforts, which procured for Ireland a relaxation of commercial restraints, we shall give a brief statement of the debates that took place on the passing of this Address.

As soon as the Lord Lieutenant's speech had been read (as usual) in the House of Commons, Sir Robert Deane arose, and after an exordium, lavish in its encomiums on the Lord Lieutenant's Administration, and the good dispositions of his Majesty and the British Ministry toward this kingdom, moved for an Address to the Throne, expressing in the warmest terms the grateful sense the House entertained

* Com. Journ. Vol. xix.

ed of the above diſpoſitions, and, in the uſual language of theſe addreſſes, echoing the ſpeech. He was ſeconded by

Mr. R. H. Hutchinſon, who ſaid this was a great, critical, and important period, in which the declarations of the King, the beſt of Princes, and the Britiſh Legiſlature, left us no room to doubt but every good was deſigned for Ireland; that his Majeſty's ſpeech in the Britiſh Houſe, at the cloſe of the laſt Seſſion, was the harbinger of good tidings and great events, which was this day confirmed in the Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech, who ſays he has it in command to declare his wiſh to co-operate in ſuch meaſures as may beſt promote our intereſts, intereſts which, in the hands of the preſent Adminiſtration, muſt be well managed, as their deſigns are pure; that under ſuch an Adminiſtration the general benefit of the empire would be attended to, above all partial and ſelfiſh conſiderations; and the veil of calumny, which ſo long traduced them, would diſappear, and the factious calumniators, touched with truth, as with the ſpear of Ithuriel, would ſtart into ſhape. What thanks were due to our Chief Governor, who ſo reſpectfully mentions the ſocieties of armed patriots throughout the kingdom? What muſt our opinion be of a Chief Governor who ſpeaks ſo honourably of that great bulwark of conſtitutional liberty, a national militia? though our diſtreſſes are great, from them proſperous days may ſpring, like that fair flower the fabling poets tell of, which ſprung from a hero's blood.

Mr. Grattan ſaid, the ſpeech contained nothing explicit, nothing ſatisfactory; it meant to quiet the minds of the people without any declaration whatever. After his Majeſty had been addreſſed by his Iriſh ſubjects for a free export trade, did ſuch addreſſes require no anſwer? Were the people of Ireland undeſerving the notice of the Britiſh Miniſters? Was there no reſpect for the intereſts of theſe kingdoms

doms among the ſervants of the Crown on this ſide of the water? Were not theſe ſervants of the Crown alſo repreſentatives of the people? Why not then ſpeak out? Are our diſtreſſes of ſo private a nature that they muſt not be mentioned? [Here he gave an eloquent and pathetic picture of the miſerable condition of this kingdom.] It is plain we have nothing to expect, ſince applications from the people, backed with the ſame from the officers of the Crown, are not attended to. Ireland, then, has nothing to depend upon but her ſpirit; no redreſs of grievances, no extenſion of trade, but from the efforts of her people! and will it be politic, will it be ſafe, here or elſewhere, to oppoſe theſe efforts? Why does not our addreſs alſo ſpeak out? Why have we leſs ſpirit than the people? Shall the Commons of Ireland ſhew leſs ſpirit than the moſt inſignificant Corporation? Are we ſo fallen, ſo deſpicable, as to be more afraid of England's cenſure, than of the cries of our ſtarving manufacturers?

The diſtreſſes of this kingdom are two-fold, the beggary of the people, and the bankruptcy of the State. The firſt he would not aſk the commiſſioners of the revenue to prove, but he would aſk them upon oath, whether the reſtrictions on our trade were not the cauſe? Whether the prohibitions laid on by England againſt the exports of woollen cloths did not occaſion it? Whether there were not too many inhabitants in this kingdom, though not half peopled; whether to thoſe inhabitants was the American continent ſtill open, would they not have emigrated thither rather than pine in their native land, the victims of Engliſh tyranny; rather than ſtarve in it by an Engliſh act of parliament? And laſtly, was there one rich merchant in the kingdom? This kingdom, (he continued) ruined by a balance of trade againſt her for ſo many years, and the drain of abſentees, owes its preſent exiſtence to aſſociations; it is but a tem-

porary expedient, and something more effectual must be done.

As to the bankruptcies of the State, they are the consequence of a system of boundless prodigality, profligacy, and violence; a boundless prodigality, while our means were limited; a profligacy and violence uniformly maintained.—One instance will suffice, where the late Attorney General obliged the merchants of Cork to sign an illegal bond, as a collateral security to an illegal oath. The peace establishment of this poor country amounts to one-sixth of that of England; what proportion is there in our means? What is this establishment? infamous pensions to infamous men! [here he launched into some personalities] and will those men, whom we pay, vote against an extension of our trade? vote against the means of supporting them! To what pass have these profligate Administrations reduced this kingdom! to be insulted with our poverty in the speech from the Throne; to be told of our beggary; that the officers of the Crown here have begged 50,000l. from England, or the troops could not have marched into camp; when it is known, that it is this profligacy that has unnerved the arm of Government, and made the sword of defence fall in its hand.

He then moved an amendment to the Address, to be inserted in the following words:

"That we beseech your Majesty to believe, that it is with the utmost reluctance we are constrained to approach you on the present occasion; but the constant drain to supply absentees, and the unfortunate prohibition of our trade, have caused such calamity, that the natural support of our country has decayed, and our manufacturers are dying for want. Famine stalks hand in hand with hopeless wretchedness,

neſs, and the only means left to ſupport the expiring trade of this miſerable part of your Majeſty's dominions, is to open a free export trade, and let your Iriſh ſubjects enjoy their natural birth-right." Lord Weſtport ſeconded Mr. Grattan's motion for the amendment. Mr. Flood conſidered the Addreſs as inexplicit.

Sir Henry Cavendiſh declared he would vote againſt the amendment, apprehending that this buſineſs would be better effected by opening a committee on purpoſe, or rather following a precedent in the year 1661, when the Lords and Commons of Ireland appointed commiſſioners to attend the King, to *ſupplicate* the redreſs of grievances.

Mr. Ogle, in a ſtrain of honeſt indignation, reprobated the idea of entering into a committee on the ſubject of our grievances; he was ſick, he ſaid, of the mode of trifling with the nation in order to gain time; that the ghoſt of the committee on the embargo* haunted him every time he heard a committee mentioned; and laſtly, if we did not mention ſomething in the Addreſs, the Miniſtry might again ſhelter themſelves under the old excuſe, "That truly they did not "know what the Iriſh wanted, as their Parliament was "ſilent on the head," and ſo go on with the old ſyſtem of duplicity.

Sir Edward Newenham, in a ſpirited and warmly decided ſtrain, conjured the Houſe, by all they held dear, to reaſſume their wonted dignity and power, the early claims to which he happily and unanſwerably traced; charged the Britiſh Miniſtry with contempt and neglect to the nation, and called on their warmeſt advocate to deny the aſſertion; ſaid he perfectly agreed with Mr. Flood, that the Addreſs did not go far enough, and that he thought the original Addreſs a ſervile echo to the ſpeech.

* The embargo laid on in 1776, continued 'till the 4th of Jan. 1779, when it was taken off ſo far as it related to ſhips carrying proviſions to any of the ports of Europe.

The Provoſt drew a moſt pathetic picture of the melancholy ſituation of his native country, declaring, on this queſtion, that no Adminiſtration ſhould bias him from the welfare of his country.

The Attorney General delivered a ſtudied eulogium on the ſenſibility of the King, and the humanity of his Miniſter.

The debate now took a new turn; ſeveral of the Miniſterial Party declared, that though they thought this buſineſs might have come more properly otherwiſe, yet, that there might be an unanimity, they would not oppoſe the amendment.

Hon. Henry Flood declared for the amendment, and entered largely into a juſtification of his political conduct, which, he ſaid, had unfortunately been much miſrepreſented; that the office he held was the unſolicited gift of his Sovereign, which he had received with gratitude, and held with honour; that when a time came that he could no longer do it, he would gladly throw the bracelet into the common cauldron.

Mr. Prime Serjeant, after expatiating on the neceſſity of immediately laying, in an unequivocal manner, the ſtate of our diſtreſſes at the foot of the Throne, moved in lieu of the amendment propoſed, "*That it is not by temporary expe-*" *dients, but by a Free Trade alone, that this nation is now to* " *be ſaved from impending ruin.*"

The amendment was carried *nem. con.* as was alſo the Addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant.

The public mind was now engaged on the ſubject of a *free trade*; and ſo anxious were the populace, who are

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ſeldom directed by prudence, that a mob aſſembled about the Parliament-houſe, attempted to compel ſeveral of its Members to ſwear they would ſupport that meaſure, and in their progreſs committed many acts of outrage, threatening the deſtruction of ſuch as ſhould oppoſe it.

The friends of Ireland in the *Britiſh* Parliament were not at this time inattentive to her intereſt: a vote of cenſure upon the Miniſters for their conduct and neglect with reſpect to the affairs of this country, was there moved in the Houſe of Commons, by the Earl of Upper Oſſory, and ſeconded by Lord Middleton. The defence of Adminiſtration in England was on this occaſion ably conducted. It was contended that the diſtreſſes and miſeries of Ireland, could not with juſtice be attributed to the preſent or any late Miniſters; that her grievances originated many years before in the general ſyſtem of trade-laws; that the reſtrictions then laid on aroſe from a narrow, ſhort-ſighted policy, which though conceived in prejudice, and founded on ignorance, was yet ſo ſtrengthened by time, and confirmed by the habits of a century, that it ſeemed at length wrought into and become even a part of the Conſtitution.—That the prejudices on that ground were ſo ſtrong, both within the Houſe and without, that the attempts made in two preceding Seſſions, only to obtain a moderate relaxation of the reſtrictions with which Ireland was bound, met with the moſt determined oppoſition: the few who undertook that taſk, found themſelves obliged to encounter prejudice without, petitions and counſel at the bar, and to be at laſt overborne by numbers within the Houſe. Thus Miniſters were fully exculpated from the charge that was brought againſt them: and it was demonſtrable that they had no ſhare whatever in drawing on the calamities of Ireland; and it was as clearly evident, that it was not in their power to have afforded that timely redreſs to her grievances, a ſup-

poſed or imputed neglect in which had been made the ground of ſo much ingenious, but unfounded, and therefore unjuſt invective. It was farther alledged, that it would have been highly unfitting, and might have been attended with obvious ill conſequences, for the Britiſh Parliament to have at all entered upon the affairs of Ireland, until they were properly informed, what the nature of her wants, and the extent of her demands were; as it was from theſe circumſtances only, that any true judgment could be formed, as to the meaſure of relief which it would be fitting to afford to that country. That *now*, by having convened the Parliament of Ireland *firſt*, its ſentiments were properly brought forward, and came fairly within the cognizance of the Britiſh Legiſlature; and all they had now to conſider was, how far it would be adviſeable to comply with the requeſts made by Ireland; and with what terms and conditions it might be thought proper to charge the favours granted.—That the preſent Miniſters inſtead of being inimical to Ireland or inattentive to her intereſts, had been her beſt and warmeſt friends. That they had done more for her than all their predeceſſors, during a century paſt. That not only the nation at large, but Parliament, were 'till then, adverſe to granting any conceſſions to Ireland, which could afford her either content or redreſs: and conſequently if any blame was due for not affording more early relief to Ireland, it was imputable only to the prejudices and temper of the people and Parliament of England, and not by any means to the Miniſters, who, as they had no ſhare in the cauſes of her diſtreſſes, were equally guiltleſs as to their continuance.

Theſe arguments were oppoſed by the ſupporters of the motion, who reprobated in terms of high indignation the imputation of prejudice laid to that Houſe, by which Miniſters (they ſaid) according to their eſtabliſhed, but daring practice, attempted to father all their blunders and miſde-

meanors

meanors on Parliament. They laughed at the pretended weakneſs and inefficiency with reſpect to the tranſactions of the Houſe, which Miniſters then affected, in order thereby to ſhield their own neglect with reſpect to Ireland. They however abſolutely denied that the Miniſter had been paſſive, neutral, or inefficacious as to the affairs of this country; and on the contrary, charged him with having taken a very active part in the buſineſs during the preceding Seſſion. For a bill having been brought in to afford relief to Ireland by admitting the direct importation of ſugars to her own conſumption, and he having (as they ſaid) for ſome time ſuffered things to take their natural courſe in that Houſe, the bill was accordingly coolly and deliberately canvaſſed and debated in all its parts; and by the ſtrength of its own intrinſic merit, worked its way through repeated diviſions, until it had nearly arrived at the laſt ſtage of its progreſs. But at that inauſpicious moment, the Miniſter having by ſome means been rouſed from his ſlumber, moſt unhappily reaſſumed his activity; and departing at once from that neutrality which he had hitherto profeſſed, came down with all the power, and ſurrounded with all the inſtruments of office, in order to defeat the meaſure, and accordingly ſucceeded in throwing out the bill. That when the people of Ireland ſaw that the Miniſter had thus openly ſet his face directly againſt them, and found after that every effort in their favour was rendered abortive by his influence or management, until they ſaw themſelves at length totally abandoned by the riſing of the Britiſh Parliament; it was no wonder that they ſhould become deſperate, and that they ſhould ſeek in themſelves for the means of that redreſs, which they found denied both to favour and to juſtice.

Miniſters, they ſaid, boaſted that the diſtreſſes of *Ireland* had not originated with them. It could be readily admitted, that ſhe was not without grievances previous to the

fatal period of their Adminiſtration; but her immediate calamities ſprung principally from the ſame grand ſource of all our general evils and dangers, from the *American war*. By that, Ireland, like England, loſt a valuable part of her commerce, with leſs ability to ſupport the loſs; and the corrupt expences of a feeble Government increaſed, as all the means of ſupplying them diminiſhed.

In this ſevere manner was the Miniſter's defence treated by his opponents; but no part was handled with more ſpirit, than the plea for not affording timely relief to Ireland, becauſe the Parliament of that country was not then ſitting. The debates on this occaſion were long, various and intereſting; but the queſtion being at laſt put, at a very late hour, the motion was rejected upon a diviſion, by a majority of 173 to 100.

The Parliament of Ireland now uſed every poſſible exertions in behalf of this country: The Houſe of Commons, with a view of obtaining an enlargement of our commerce, prudently and ſpiritedly reſolved to grant the ſupply only for a ſhort period, and accordingly agreed to a *ſix month's* money bill, which was tranſmitted to England, where, however mortifying to the Miniſter, it paſſed alſo. The Houſe likewiſe reſolved *unanimouſly*, "That the exportation from this kingdom of its woollen and other manufactures to all foreign places would materially tend to relieve its diſtreſſes, encreaſe its wealth, promote its proſperity, and thereby advance the welfare of *Great Britain*, and the common ſtrength, wealth and commerce of the Britiſh empire.

"That a liberty for this kingdom to trade with the Britiſh colonies in *America* and the *Weſt Indies*, and the Britiſh ſettlements on the coaſt of *Africa*, in like manner as trade is carried on between Great Britain and the ſaid colonies and

ſettlements,

ſettlements, would be productive of very great commercial benefits, would be a moſt affectionate mark of the regard and attention of Great Britain to our diſtreſſes, and would give new vigour to the zeal of his Majeſty's brave and loyal people of *Ireland*, to ſtand forward in ſupport of his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and the intereſt, the honour and the dignity of the *Britiſh* empire." *

During this Seſſion it was, that the expedient of a *Lottery* to aid the raiſing of the loan was reſorted to for the firſt time in *Ireland*. Two hundred thouſand pounds being wanted, a Lottery conſiſting of 42,000 tickets was propoſed, 40,000 of thoſe were paid for at 5l. each, and one ticket given as a douceur, to every ſubſcriber for twenty: Debentures bearing intereſt at 4l. per cent. for 210,000l. were ordered to be made out for the payment of the prizes; and it being neceſſary to borrow 140,000l. more, *Treaſury Bills* for the firſt time were ordered to be iſſued, at an intereſt of three pence per day for each 100l. being 4l. 11s. 3d. per cent. per annum.

We return now to the proceedings of the Britiſh Parliament. The Miniſter now thought it expedient to yield in ſome meaſure to the claims of Ireland: he, therefore, on the 13th of December 1779, opened his propoſitions for affording relief to this kingdom. They were three in number, and went to the following articles: To the repeal of thoſe laws which prohibited the exportation of Iriſh manufactures, made of or mixed with wooll, and wooll flocks, from Ireland to any part of Europe. That ſo much of the act of 19 *Geo.* 2d. as prohibited the importation of glaſs into Ireland, except of Britiſh manufacture, or to export glaſs from that kingdom, be repealed. And, that Ireland be ſuffered

* Comm. Journ. Vol. 19.

ſuffered to carry on a trade of export and import, to and from the Britiſh Colonies in America and the Weſt Indies, and her ſettlements on the coaſts of Africa, ſubject to ſuch limitations, regulations and reſtrictions as the Parliament of Ireland ſhould impoſe.

The Miniſter ſtated in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, and with equal ability and knowledge of the ſubject, the propriety and juſtice, as well as the neceſſity, of affording relief to Ireland; and entered fully into her claims, as well with reſpect to her natural and inherent rights, as to thoſe ariſing from her particular connexion with Great Britain.—He likewiſe expatiated largely on the mutual and reſpective intereſt of both countries; and very happily collected into one point of view, almoſt all thoſe queſtions of commerce and policy, that had been before agitated on this ſubject.

Such was the happy temper now prevailing, that theſe reſolutions were agreed to without oppoſition: ſo efficacious a medicine was a *ſix month's* money bill to remove prejudice and diſcontent!

Bills founded on the two firſt propoſitions were accordingly brought in, paſſed both Houſes with the utmoſt facility, and received the Royal Aſſent before the receſs. The third being more complete in its nature, requiring a variety of enquiry, and being ſubject to ſeveral limitations and conditions, was ſuffered to lie over during the enſuing holidays in its ſtate of an open propoſition; not only to afford time for conſideration in England, but for acquiring a knowledge of the effect which the meaſure would produce in *this* kingdom.

The Commons of Ireland proceeded to take into conſideration the regulations neceſſary for our commerce, and to complete

complete that ſyſtem which was now offered for our relief. The ſpirits of the people were highly elated: and upon this extenſion of the colonial trade, it was preſumed we ſhould become a wealthy and proſperous nation, having received ſuch a generous boon from the gracious benevolence of our ſiſter kingdom.

The ſupplies were now granted for a year and an half farther, and 260,000l. ordered to be raiſed by Treaſury Bills, bearing an intereſt as before, or by a Lottery, as the Lord Lieutenant ſhould direct.

On preſenting the Money Bills this Seſſion, the *Speaker*, with his uſual ability and good ſenſe, made the following ſpeech:

"*May it pleaſe your Excellency*,

"During the viciſſitudes of a foreign and ſtill more dangerous civil war, which has waſted a great part of the Britiſh empire, it has been the peculiar felicity of this nation to preſerve the public tranquillity; and though long depreſſed by the narrow policy of former times, ſtill to retain ſuch vigour, and at the ſame time ſuch temper and caution, as animated it to claim, with honeſt confidence, its rights; and yet reſtrained it from tranſgreſſing the bounds of its duty, or hazarding the loſs of that ineſtimable bleſſing, the *Britiſh* Conſtitution. To this ſtate of union and moderation, unexampled in any age or in any country, under ſimilar circumſtances; to your Excellency's judicious conduct and faithful repreſentations; to his Majeſty's benevolent diſpoſition and tender concern for the ſufferings of his people; to the wiſdom of his Miniſter, however queſtioned in ſome inſtances, in this acknowledged by all; to his reſolution and conſtancy in combating eſtabliſhed habits and rooted prejudices; and to the juſtice and generoſity of the *Britiſh* nation,

tion, muſt be aſcribed the happy reſtoration of that equitable ſyſtem of equality in commerce, which has ſilenced (I truſt for ever) thoſe pernicious ſuſpicions and jealouſies, which lately threatened the peace of both kingdoms. But whatever advantages this change in our condition may promiſe, it will avail us litttle if it inſpires falſe hopes and vain expectations of ſudden affluence; the future proſperity of this kingdom will depend upon our induſtry and oeconomy, public as well as private, the effects of which, though certain and permanent, are ever gradual and ſlow; and unleſs our expences are regulated by our acquiſitions, diſappointment will be our portion, and poverty and diſtreſs muſt be the conſequence of our conduct. Notwithſtanding theſe conſiderations, and the reduced ſtate of this kingdom, the Commons have granted to his Majeſty much larger ſupplies than in any former Seſſion: they have borrowed a ſum of 610,000l. to diſcharge the arrear of the eſtabliſhment; and in order to provide againſt any future deficiency, they have made an addition to the revenue, eſtimated at above 150,000l. a-year. Nor have they been leſs attentive to the intereſt of the people, than to the honour of the Crown.—The public good has been the object to which all their efforts have been directed; and their conduct throughout the whole courſe of this Seſſion, has alike entitled them to the confidence of their Sovereign and of their Conſtituents, and will leave to all future Parliaments a memorable and inſtructive example of fortitude, moderation and wiſdom."

If Great Britain condeſcended in the proceedings we have ſtated to open ſome advantages to Iriſh commerce, ſhe did not however forget to exerciſe her power of violating our conſtitutional rights. A bill for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion in the army for a limited time paſſed the Parliament of this country, was tranſmitted as uſual, and returned with a material alteration from the Engliſh Privy Council—being made

made *perpetual*. With reſpect to our trading ſyſtem, an alteration was alſo made in another bill tranſmitted, reſpecting the article of *ſugars*.

Whether the regulations at this time formed in the Parliament of Ireland concerning our trade, and the equalization of duties between this country and Great Britain, were as beneficial and extenſive for us as they might have been, or as the people of Ireland had a right to claim or expect, we ſhall not determine: certain it is, they were not generally approved of, and the conduct of the Privy Council in England, by the alteration of the bills before mentioned, cauſed much diſcontent and complaint.

The Borough of *Newry*, therefore, preſented a petition to the Houſe of Commons, ſtating that the petitioners had heard with deep concern of alterations then ſaid to have been made in the bill for laying a duty of twelve ſhillings per cwt. on imported refined ſugars, and alſo in the bill for the better regulation of the army; that the duty of twelve ſhillings appeared to be the loweſt that could poſſibly be admitted, with the appearance of juſtice to this country; and that a perpetual bill for the regulation of the army, or of any other duration than from Seſſion to Seſſion, was a daring attack on the Conſtitution of both countries. That petitioners humbly prayed that, by an equal diſtribution of juſtice, the mutual cordiality between *Great Britain* and *Ireland* might be enſured, and the neceſſity for this country to reſolve to conſume her own manufactures only, might be removed; and that a Parliamentary Army might be maintained in *Ireland*, regulated upon principles ſuch as *Great Britain* could approve of, and *Ireland* ſubmit to.

Other petitions were alſo preſented to the like purport.

On

On the 16th of Auguſt 1780, the Houſe of Commons reſolved itſelf into a grand committee to take into conſideration the altered mutiny bill. It was contended in ſupport of this meaſure, that if Parliament had an intention to preſerve the peace of this country, they muſt paſs the bill in its preſent ſtate. That as long as Parliament held the purſe of the nation, they could, by refuſing to pay, annihilate the army. That the hereditary revenue never could be applied to the payment of the army, becauſe it would deſtroy itſelf in the very ends it ſhould be employed for. That if the King was granted the liberty of raiſing an army, he ſhould alſo have the perpetual power of regulating that army.

On the other ſide it was argued, that the preſent bill tended to the ſubverſion of all public liberty. That it would not be wiſe to grant to the Crown a dictatorial power over fifteen thouſand men for ever. That it was the wiſh of the kingdom to be governed by its own laws. That they conſidered the power of originating this very act as a declaration of rights: they were conſequently contending with the Miniſter of *Great Britain*, not for any conceſſion which might wound the intereſt or pride of the Engliſh, but for a meaſure which would bring every man in Britain on their ſide, as they could not wiſh to ſee the power of the Crown rendered ſo dangerous to the Conſtitution of both kingdoms, with a perpetual army, which might veſt his Majeſty with too great an influence over the laws; and that any articles of war which the King might hereafter make would be articles of war for this kingdom; for the act extended a power over all his Majeſty's forces, by which means Ireland would be under the controul of an Engliſh ſtatute, and this kingdom would become a place of arms.

The debates on this ſubject continued ſeveral hours, but the bill was agreed to as it then ſtood, and afterwards paſſed into

into a law. This together with the circumſtances reſpecting the ſugar bill, occaſioned much diſcontent: and ſeveral reſolutions were entered into at different public meetings, that were aſſembled on this occaſion. Amongſt others, a meeting of the Merchants Corps of Volunteers was convened at the Royal Exchange, Dublin, when the following reſolutions were paſſed, and ordered to be printed in the public papers:

"Reſolved, that the late deciſions of the Houſe of Commons (ſo deſtructive, in our opinion, to the conſtitutional rights, and injurious to the commercial intereſts of this kingdom) demand the moſt ſerious attention of every *Iriſhman*.

"Reſolved, that we conſider their conſent to the mandate of the *Britiſh* Miniſter, by which the bill for the regulation of the army is made perpetual, and the controul thereof for ever veſted in the hands of the Crown, as a ſubverſion of the Conſtitution, and a ſtab to the Liberty of the Subject.

"Reſolved, that conſidering the army of this kingdom as a body of men embarked in the cauſe of their country, and equally entitled with ourſelves to the protection of its Legiſlature, we cannot but feel for their ſituation, who, by this law, are in danger of being made, at a future day, the unwilling inſtruments of deſpotiſm, to violate the Liberties of *Ireland*.

"Reſolved, that we conſider the compliance of that Houſe with the alteration made in the ſugar bill by the *Engliſh* Privy Council, reducing the propoſed duty on lump ſugars, as an overthrow to the refinery of this kingdom, and a total obſtruction to the extenſion of its manufactures by an export to the *Britiſh* Colonies and *Weſt Indies*.

"Reſolved,

"Reſolved, that we will concur with the Volunteer Corps of this kingdom, and the reſt of our fellow-ſubjects, in every effort which may tend to avert the dangers we are threatened with.

"Reſolved, that the ſtrenuous, though unſucceſsful efforts, of the minority of the Houſe of Commons in defence of the Conſtitution, merit the thanks and firm ſupport of every friend of his Country."

Similar reſolutions were entered into by other Volunteer Bodies, particularly the *Independent Dublin* and *Liberty* Corps; as alſo by the citizens of Dublin in general: and the public ſeemed now determined on a non-importation agreement, and to make uſe of Iriſh manufactures *only*.

The Houſe of Commons hereupon paſſed a vote of cenſure againſt the Printers by whom theſe proceedings were publiſhed, and an addreſs to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant requeſting he would be pleaſed to give orders for effectually proſecuting the printers and publiſhers, and alſo the authors and contrivers thereof when diſcovered. *

During this Seſſion, a bill was paſſed for the relief of the Proteſtant Diſſenters of this kingdom, and to repeal a clauſe in the act of 2d. Queen Anne, entitled an act to prevent the farther growth of Popery, ſo far as it related to Proteſtant Diſſenters; a bill to naturalize ſuch foreign merchants, manufacturers, as ſhould ſettle in this kingdom.—On the 2d Sept. 1780, the Seſſion was cloſed, with the following ſpeech from the Lord Lieutenant; and adjourned to the 10th of October following:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"I am happy at length to congratulate you on the concluſion of this Seſſion of Parliament, though the important meaſures

* Comm. Journ. Vol. 19.

meaſures under deliberation muſt have made your attendance leſs irkſome to you.

" If your long abſence from your ſeveral counties has been productive of any inconvenience, ſuch inconvenience is fully compenſated by permanent and ſolid benefits, the ſucceſsful conſequences of your labours."

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I thank you in his Majeſty's name, for the liberal ſupplies you have granted; your chearfulneſs in giving, and your attention to the eaſe of the ſubject in the mode of raiſing them, muſt be very acceptable to his Majeſty; on my part, I aſſure you, they ſhall be faithfully applied."

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" The ſatisfaction with which the heart of every *Iriſhman* muſt exult at the fair ſcene of proſperity now opening to this country, may equal, it cannot exceed, the glow of my private feelings: and whilſt you applaud the conduct of *Great Britain* in removing the reſtrictions upon the trade of this kingdom, you cannot but particularly acknowledge the unequivocal demonſtrations of her ſincere affection, in admitting you, upon the moſt liberal plan, to an immediate, free and equal intercourſe with her colonies.

" The wiſe and ſalutary laws which you have framed, naturally lead to the moſt beneficial enjoyment of that intercourſe. And when I reflect on thoſe great objects, and on your meritorious attention to the trade, agriculture and manufactures of this kingdom, ſo conſpicuouſly manifeſted by the laws paſſed for granting ample bounties on the export of your corn, your linen and your ſail-cloth, by the premiums for encouraging the growth of hemp and flax-ſeed, and by

the judicious provisions for the better regulation of your manufactures, I feel a conscious satisfaction, that the commerce of this kingdom has been established upon an extended, firm and lasting basis; and that *Ireland* must, in the course of her future prosperity, look back to this æra, the labours of the present Parliament, and the diffusive indulgence of his Majesty, with a most grateful veneration.

"Your own discreet judgment will naturally suggest the expediency, when you return to your several counties, of impressing upon the minds of all ranks of men the various blessings of their present situation. Demonstrate to them that every effectual source of commercial wealth is now their own, and invites that industry, without which the wisest commercial regulations remain a dead letter, and the bounties of nature are lavished in vain. Cherish such a spirit of industry, and convince them of the essential advantages they derive from their free and excellent Constitution, the maintenance of every branch of which in its just vigour and authority, can alone secure their liberties, and preserve their happiness."

CHAP.

CHAPTER IX.

Administration of Lord Carlisle.---His Speech on opening the Session.---Vote of Thanks to the Volunteer Corps.---National Debt and Pension List.---Conduct of the Court of Portugal.---Proceedings of the Merchants of Dublin.---Address of the House of Commons to his Majesty relative to the Portugal Business.

THE commercial regulations between Great Britain and Ireland were not yet compleatly adjusted, and the Parliament, in consequence of different prorogations, did not again meet until the 9th of October 1781. The Earl of *Carlisle* was now appointed Chief Governor, who opened the Sessions with the following speech:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"Conscious that it is my indispensable duty to promote whatever may contribute to extend the advantages of civil society, I take the first occasion to call your earnest attention to the encouragement of your trade and the improvement of your manufactures, and especially to the perfecting and enforcing of your internal police, as well by your deliberations, as by the influence of your counsels and examples, impressing upon the minds of the people a becoming reverence of the laws.

"The humanity and wisdom of those motives which influence your support of the Protestant Charter Schools, as

seminaries of true religion and honest industry, will continue to engage your regard.

"I am sensible also of the expediency and good policy of the encouragements which are accustomed to be given, as well to the linen manufacture as to tillage, to the fisheries, the inland carriage and export of corn, and other great national objects. It will deserve, however, your best attention and vigilance to ascertain and enforce the strict and due expenditure of such sums as may be granted for these wise and benevolent purposes.

"His Majesty ardently wishes the happiness of his people of Ireland, in whose affection and loyalty he places the firmest reliance; and though I am not directed to call upon you for any extraordinary supplies in this time of general hostility, when these kingdoms are exposed to an unnatural and dangerous combination of enemies, I have not the smallest doubt that I shall be enabled to assure his Majesty of your cordial disposition to give him every assistance compatible with your means and circumstances.

"*No event could more contribute to the public security* than the general concurrence with which the late *spirited offers of assistance* were presented to me from every part of this kingdom; and I am fully convinced, that if necessity had arisen, it was in my power to have called into action all the strength and spirit of a *brave* and *loyal people*, eager unto my direction to be employed in *aid* of his *Majesty's regular forces*, for the public defence.

"I trust that every part of my conduct will demonstrate how much it is the wish of my heart to engage your confidence: I shall claim it only in proportion as I shall be found to deserve it, by an unwearied endeavour to promote the prosperity

proſperity of Ireland: and I am ſenſible that this is the beſt method of recommending my ſervices to our Sovereign, and of obtaining your concurrence toward the eaſe and honour of my Adminiſtration."

We may obſerve in this, a general acknowledgment of the ſpirit and loyalty of this country: at the ſame time, that the Viceroy particularly alluded to the zealous and timely exertion of the *Volunteer Army* in this kingdom: and accordingly the Houſe of Commons, early in this Seſſion, reſolved unanimouſly, that the thanks of that Houſe ſhould be given to the *Volunteer Corps* for their exertions *and continuation*, and particularly for their ſpirited preparations againſt a late threatened invaſion.*

Notwithſtanding the extenſion of trade, and the new additional duties granted in the laſt Seſſion, the expences of the eſtabliſhment, &c. for the two years ending at Lady-day, exceeded the produce of the revenue by above 480,000l.—It was therefore ordered that 300,000l. ſhould be raiſed as follows: 260,000l. at 4l. per cent.; and the remaining 40,000l. upon Treaſury Bills as before. The debt of the nation amounted now to 1,551,704l. 7s. 8½d. and the Penſion Liſt to 183,745l. 10s. 2¼d.

On preſenting the Money Bills in December 1781, the Speaker delivered his ſentiments as follows:

"*May it pleaſe your Excellency*,

"Though no material change in the circumſtances of this kingdom has taken place ſince the concluſion of the laſt Seſſion, it ought to be, and I am perſuaded is, a ſubject of general ſatisfaction to reflect, that, amidſt the horrors of

* Comm. Journ. Vol. xx.

war, it has ſhared none of its calamities; that the public tranquillity has been preſerved within, and that the dangers with which it was threatened from without, have been averted by his Majeſty's paternal care, by your Excellency's vigilance and judicious conduct, and by the voluntary and virtuous exertions of its own loyal and brave inhabitants: nor is the future proſpect leſs pleaſing than the view of what is paſt. Several attempts have been lately made, and with ſome ſucceſs, to eſtabliſh in this kingdom new manufactures, to revive and improve the old, and to extend its commerce; the lower orders of the people are recovering from their former indolence and ignorance, and the ſpirit of enterprize and of induſtry, the great ſpring of national happineſs, begins to diffuſe itſelf through the nation. From theſe diſpoſitions in the people, and the generous encouragement given to every uſeful undertaking by thoſe of higher condition, it ſeems not too much confidence to hope that the time is not far diſtant, when this kingdom will emerge from that ſtate of inaction and languor, into which it was ſunk, and that it will aſſume that rank in the empire, which belongs to it, and become one of its principal pillars. The Commons, ſenſible of the benefits they enjoy under your Excellency's juſt and wiſe Adminiſtration, have, with unuſual diſpatch, granted all the ſupplies which were required, and have alſo made proviſion for the diſcharge of an arrear of 300,000l. incurred ſince the laſt Seſſion; and though they have not impoſed on the ſubject any new or additional tax, except for the purpoſes of regulation, they are not without hopes that the revenue will hereafter prove adequate to the public ſervice, and that the augmentation made by ſuch regulation, and the reformation already commenced in the collection and management of it, will prevent any future deficiency."

The public mind was now turning to a new object—that of *Legiſlative Independence*: but this was not fully made a

ſubject

ſubject of Parliamentary attention until the year following. Matters of trade, however, were ſtill attended to, and regulating duties preſcribed.

Though a freedom in commerce as far as we before mentioned, was now held out to Ireland, it received ſome obſtruction by the conduct of the Court of Portugal, in refuſing the entry and ſale of Iriſh manufactures. This occaſioned new complaints, and it was attributed to ſome ſiniſter conduct on the part of England. On the 23d of April 1781, being Quarter Day of the Guild of Merchants, the ſubject was inveſtigated by that Body. It was there contended by ſome that the Viceroy and his Secretary Mr. *Eden*, had taken on the earlieſt informations the moſt active part to obtain an immediate remedy; and two letters from Mr. Eden, with ſome other authorities, were produced to ſupport this aſſertion. The majority of the Guild ſeemed now inclined to think that there was a probability that theſe exertions would prove ſucceſsful, and the thanks of the Guild were voted to his Excellency the Earl of Carliſle and Mr. Eden, for their warm and earneſt endeavours in favour of the commercial intereſts of Ireland.

In conſequence, however, of this circumſtance, the Houſe of Commons on the 7th of February 1782, conſidered it neceſſary to make application to his Majeſty on the ſubject; and accordingly the following Addreſs was paſſed unanimouſly:

To the King's moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Addreſs of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes in Parliament aſſembled:

"*Moſt gracious Sovereign,*

"We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of *Ireland*, in Parliament aſſem-

bled, beg leave humbly to approach your Majesty with sincere professions of that zealous loyalty which will never cease to glow in our hearts, and which we trust will ever distinguish the character of your faithful people of *Ireland*, and to assure your Majesty that we possess an entire reliance on your paternal protection, which has been happily exerted, during the course of your Majesty's reign, in promoting and establishing the prosperity of this kingdom.

"With painful reluctance, therefore, at a time when your Majesty's attention is engaged in the most momentous concerns, we yield to the necessity of laying before your Majesty a subject, which deeply affects the commercial rights of this your Majesty's kingdom.

"Founding our claims upon the faith of treaties, and desirous to promote all the reciprocal advantages of commerce between this country and the subjects of your Majesty's ancient and faithful ally, the Queen of *Portugal*, we considered that kingdom, in our commercial regulations, as the most favoured nation, and by acts of Parliament gave to the wines of *Portugal* that advantage over the wines of *France*, in the imposition of duties, which is described in the treaty of 1703, expecting from the justice of the Court of *Portugal* that woollen manufactures sent from this kingdom would, in consequence, have the same admission which is given to those imported there from *Great Britain*.

"We rested this most reasonable expectation not only on the construction of the treaty above-mentioned, but on the letter and spirit of many ancient treaties made between your Majesty's royal predecessors and the Crown of *Portugal*; and we hoped for a common participation with your Majesty's subjects of *Great Britain* in every branch of commerce with *Portugal*, which, till now, has never been denied to us in that kingdom.

"With

"With much surprize, therefore, we have heard that the entry of our woollen manufactures and printed linens had met with some obstructions at the port of *Lisbon*.

"Nevertheless, being satisfied that the zealous and repeated requisitions of your Majesty's Ministers, strenuously urged, and in a cause so evidently reasonable and just, would be attended with success, we have hitherto refrained from resenting the injury, by commercial regulations restrictive of the trade of *Portugal*, and by such other effectual means as the honour and indispensable rights of this kingdom may demand; nor would we then disturb your Majesty's attention by an address upon the subject: but, if we are now to understand that it is the determination of her most faithful Majesty to exclude your Majesty's subjects of *Ireland* from the benefits of the treaty of 1703, or to refuse any relief in respect of the printed linens of this kingdom, it is become our duty to resort to your Majesty's protection and powerful interposition, that our manufactures may not be excluded from the ports of one of your Majesty's Allies, which must at all times be grievous, but peculiarly so when the common calamity of war has prohibited our commercial intercourse with so many other States.

"We beg leave, therefore, to approach the Throne, earnestly recommending our cause to your Majesty's unremitted attention and unabated efforts; and we entreat your Majesty to interpose your royal influence with the Court of *Portugal*, in the most effectual manner, that the obstructions to our trade may be removed, and that we may be restored to those commercial rights to which we are entitled."

CHAP.

CHAPTER X.

Proceedings reſpecting Legiſlative Independence.---Reſolutions at Dungannon.---Addreſs to the Minority of both Houſes.---Reſolutions of Volunteer Corps.---Grand Juries, &c.---City and County of Dublin---Univerſity.---Inſtructions to their Repreſentatives.---Anſwers thereto.---Obſervations, &c.

WHATEVER favours Great Britain may have at this time conferred, or rather what acts of juſtice ſhe rendered to Ireland, may reaſonably be attributed more to the exigency of the times, and the critical ſituation of the empire, than to any pure principle of national benevolence. She was now wearied with a tedious, expenſive, unnatural and unſucceſsful war againſt her Colonies—ſhe perceived this country in danger of falling a prey to the antient and avowed enemy of both kingdoms, and dependent for its defence and protection, merely on its own internal ſtrength and the loyalty of its inhabitants. She was conſcious, that her conduct heretofore was ill calculated to conciliate the affection of the Iriſh nation, which had ſtill to require the reſtoration of many rights, whereof it had been deprived; and ſhe found the people of Ireland were well aſſured, that this, if ever, was the time to demand and regain them.

The latter had long complained of uſurpations frequently attempted on her *Legiſlative Independence*: England had recently exerted an unconſtitutional authority in the alteration of

of bills tranſmitted from this country. The *Mutiny Bill*, was the laſt inſtance of this kind, and the nation was exaſperated at ſuch conduct. The general voice of the kingdom was raiſed againſt it.

Before we proceed to any further ſtatement of the Parliamentary proceedings in 1782, it may therefore be proper to ſhew what was the general diſpoſition of the public mind: and what was done by the people to obtain a reſtoration of *Legiſlative* Freedom.

Early in this year, public meetings were held in almoſt every part of Ireland, and reſolutions entered into, expreſſive of a firm determination to eſtabliſh her parliamentary rights on a laſting and conſtitutional baſis. The Grand Juries of the ſeveral counties, Merchants, Traders and Citizens, the different Volunteer Corps; and finally, men of every deſcription, adopted the ſame principles, and joined in the ſame meaſures: in this reſpect, the opinion and ſpirit of the country ſeemed drawn to a common centre.

On the 15th of February 1782, a meeting of the Repreſentatives of one hundred and forty-three Corps of Volunteers, of the Province of Ulſter, was held at *Dungannon*, where the following reſolutions were agreed to:

"WHEREAS it has been aſſerted that Volunteers, as ſuch, cannot with propriety, debate or publiſh their opinions on political ſubjects, or on the conduct of Parliament or public men:

"Reſolved unanimouſly, That a Citizen, by learning the uſe of arms, does not abandon any of his civil rights.

"That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconſtitutional, illegal, and a *grievance*.

"That

" That the powers exercised by the Privy Council of both kingdoms, under or under colour or pretence of the law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional, and a *grievance*.

" That the ports of this country are, by right, open to all foreign countries, not at war with the King, and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the Parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a *grievance*.

" That a Mutiny Bill, not limited in point of duration from Session to Session, is unconstitutional and a *grievance*.

" That the independence of Judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland, as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is, in itself, unconstitutional, and a *grievance*.

" That it is our decided and unalterable determination, to seek a redress of those grievances; and we pledge ourselves to each other, and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will at every ensuing election, support those only, who have supported and will support us therein; and that we will use all constitutional means to make such pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

" That the right hon. and hon. the minority in Parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed address be signed by the chairman, and published with these resolutions.

" That four members from each county of the Province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be, and are hereby appointed

pointed a committee 'till next general meeting, to act for the Volunteer Corps here represented, and as occasion shall require to call general meetings of the Province.

"That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other Volunteer Associations in the other Provinces, as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

"That the committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the Province, within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present Parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

"That the Court of *Portugal* have acted toward this kingdom (being a part of the British empire) in such a manner as to call upon us to declare and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal; and that we will to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said wine, save and except the wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received into the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British empire.

"That we hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as in ourselves.—Resolved, therefore, that as men, and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the *Penal Laws* against our *Roman Catholic fellow-subjects*; and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."

The

The addreſs referred to in the foregoing reſolutions was as follows:

" *To the Right Hon. and Hon. the Minority in both Houſes of Parliament.*

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" We thank you for your noble and ſpirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts in defence of the great conſtitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on—the almoſt unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country, the voice of the country *muſt* prevail. We know our duty to our Sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourſelves, and are reſolved to be free. We ſeek for our rights, and no more than our rights, and, in ſo juſt a purſuit, we ſhould doubt the being a Providence, if we doubted of ſucceſs."

Theſe proceedings were generally approved of—the ſpirit of the Dungannon meeting was diffuſed throughout the kingdom, and its reſolutions were ſeconded by almoſt every Volunteer Corps in Ireland.

On the 17th of February, the Corps of *Independent Dublin Volunteers* unanimouſly agreed to the following reſolutions and preamble:

" NATURAL juſtice and equity having eſtabliſhed the univerſal rights of mankind upon an equal footing, the inhabitants of *Ireland* have a claim to a *Free Trade* with all nations in amity with Great Britain; yet their ports have been kept ſhut, their trade has been monopolized, and their induſtry has but ſerved to aggrandize the proud traders of a neighbouring kingdom.

" Neceſſity

" Neceſſity, which compels to ingenuity, has lately held up that trade, dignified with the ſpacious name of *Free*; yet, trade which enriches induſtrious nations, ſerves but to impoveriſh the natives of this kingdom, becauſe they have purchaſed at an high price, an illuſion. Defrauded thus of their birth-right, there is nothing left but œconomy as a counterpoiſe. This unſubſtantial freedom of commerce, having originated from the united ſpirit of the people againſt the uſe of *foreign manufactures*, the ſame ſpirit which procured the fallacious grant, may yet, by a perſevering unanimity, eſtabliſh a *real*, permanent and ſubſtantial trade.—Therefore—RESOLVED, That theſe our thoughts and opinions be laid before our countrymen, reminding them, at the ſame time, that not only they, but their poſterity, are intereſted in the event; and that to do away effectually the yoke of monopoly, a non-conſumption and non-importation agreement ſhould be entered into without delay.

" *Reſolved*, That for the more effectually furthering this great national point, the ſeveral Corps (as private citizens) of this city be requeſted to ſend each a Delegate to the Royal Exchange, on Monday the 25th inſt. at ſeven o'clock in the evening: and that the foregoing reſolutions be publiſhed."

A few days afterwards a full meeting was held of the *Lawyer's Corps*, and the following reſolutions paſſed:

" *Reſolved*, That we do highly approve of the reſolutions and addreſs of the Ulſter Volunteers, repreſented at *Dungannon* on the 15th Feb. inſt.

" That as Citizens and Volunteers, we will co-operate with the ſeveral Corps, whoſe Delegates met at Dungannon, in every conſtitutional mode of obtaining a redreſs of the grievances mentioned in their reſolutions."

The

The following Addreſs was publiſhed by the Committee of the Ulſter Volunteers :

" *To the Electors of Members of Parliament, in the Province of Ulſter.*

" *Gentlemen,*

" Delegated by the Volunteers aſſembled at Dungannon, we call on you to ſupport the conſtitutional and commercial right of Ireland ; to exert the important privlleges of freemen at the enſuing election, and to proclaim to the world that you at leaſt deſerve to be *Free.*

" Regard not the threats of landlords or their agents, when they require you to fail in your duty to God, to your country, to yourſelves, to your poſterity. The firſt privilege of a man is the right of judging for himſelf, and now is the time for you to exert that right. It is a time pregnant with circumſtances, which revolving ages may not again ſo favourably combine. The ſpirit of liberty is gone abroad, it is embraced by the people at large, and every day brings with it an acceſſion of ſtrength. The timid have laid aſide their fears, and the virtuous ſons of Ireland ſtand ſecure in their numbers. Undue influence is now as deſpiſed as it has ever been contemptible ; and he who would dare to puniſh an elector for exerting the rights of a freeman, would meet what he would merit, public deteſtation and abhorrence.

" Let no individual neglect his duty. The nation is an aggregate of individuals, and the ſtrength of the whole is compoſed of the exertions of each part ; the man, therefore, who omits what is in his power, and will not exert his utmoſt efforts for the emancipation of his country, becauſe they can, at beſt, be the efforts of but one man, ſtands accountable to his God and to his country, to himſelf and to his poſterity, for confirming and entailing ſlavery on the land which gave him birth.

" An

" An upright Houſe of Commons is all that is wanting, and it is in the power of the electors to obtain it. Vote only for men whoſe paſt conduct in Parliament you and the nation approve, and for ſuch others as will ſolemnly pledge themſelves to ſupport the meaſures which you and the nation approve. Do your duty to your country, and let no conſideration tempt you to ſacrifice the public to a private tie, the greater duty to a leſs.

" We entreat you, in the name of the great and reſpectable body we repreſent; we implore you, by every ſocial and honourable tie; we conjure you as citizens, as freemen, as Iriſhmen, to raiſe this long inſulted kingdom, and reſtore to her her loſt rights. One great and united effort will place us among the firſt nations of the earth, and thoſe who ſhall have the glory of contributing to that event, will be for ever recorded as the Saviours of their Country."

It would be impoſſible and unneceſſary, to ſtate here the numerous reſolutions agreed to by the ſeveral Volunteer Corps and other Aſſemblies, where theſe ſubjects were taken into conſideration: they were ſubſtantially the ſame, and differed but in words.* We ſhall, therefore, only add the proceedings of a few other Bodies, that were not under the *military* character, to ſhew that the ſame diſpoſition and ſentiments pervaded all ranks of people.

At a meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, convened by the High Sheriffs, at the Tholſel, on Tueſday the 19th of March 1782, the following Addreſs was unanimouſly agreed to:

* For a particular view of theſe national proceedings, the reader is referred to a Work publiſhed by *C. H. Wilſon*, entitled "*A Compleat Collection of the Reſolutions of the Volunteers, Grand Juries, &c. of Ireland.*"—Dublin, printed by J. Hill, 1782.

To Sir Samuel Bradſtreet, *Bart. and* Travers Hartley, *Eſq. Repreſentatives in Parliament for the City of Dublin.*

Gentlemen,

As men juſtly entitled to, and firmly reſolved to obtain a Free Conſtitution, we require you, our truſtees, to exert yourſelves in the moſt ſtrenuous manner, to procure an unequivocal declaration, "*That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland,* are the *only* power competent to make laws to bind this country." And we ſolemnly pledge ourſelves to you and to our country, that we will ſupport the repreſentatives of the people at the riſk of our lives and fortunes, in every conſtitutional meaſure which may be purſued for the attainment of this great national object. Be aſſured, gentlemen, that your zeal upon this occaſion will inſure you a continuance of our eſteem and regard.

Signed, JAMES CAMPBELL, DAVID DICK, } Sheriffs.

The Sheriffs, having waited on the Repreſentatives, received the following Anſwer:

To the Sheriffs, Freemen, and Freeholders of the City of Dublin.

Gentlemen,

It has ever been my wiſh to receive with pleaſure, and to obey the inſtructions of my conſtituents.

You may depend on my uſing every means in my power to procure an explicit and unequivocal declaration, "That the *King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland,* are the *only* power competent to make laws to bind this country;" and I rely on your ſolemn engagement to ſupport your Repreſentatives, in every conſtitutional meaſure which may be neceſſary for the attainment of this great national object. Permit me to aſſure you, that my zeal for the accompliſhment of your wiſhes,

wiſhes can be equalled only by my deſire to convince you how ſacred I eſteem the truſt you have repoſed in me, and how much I value a continuance of the good opinion of my fellow-citizens.

I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,
Your obliged, and faithful ſervant,
SAMUEL BRADSTREET.*

To the Sheriffs, Freemen, and Freeholders of the City of Dublin.

Gentlemen,

I ſhould be very unworthy of that honourable and important truſt, with which you have ſo recently inveſted me, did I not receive with the higheſt reſpect, the moſt perfect ſatisfaction, and chearful conformity, your inſtructions, on a ſubject in which the national honour and ſecurity are eſſentially engaged. To ſuppoſe that any power, except that of the "*King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland*, is competent to make laws to bind this kingdom," is utterly inconſiſtent with the idea of freedom; it is equal liberty alone, which can ſecure that perfect harmony to the ſubjects of the ſame Crown, ſo neceſſary to the proſperity both of Great Britain and Ireland. You may rely, gentlemen, on every exertion I am capable of, to procure an unequivocal declaration of the ſole right of the Legiſlature of this kingdom, to enact laws obligatory on the people of Ireland; and I doubt not in this, and every conſtitutional meaſure, I ſhall be always ſecure of the ſupport of my conſtituents. Your inſtructions on this occaſion will give a dignity to the vote you have entruſted me with, which it muſt have wanted, if conſidered as merely proceeding from my own private judgment.

I have the honour, Gentlemen, to be,
With the moſt perfect reſpect, and ſenſe of obligation,
Your faithful and obedient ſervant,
TRAVERS HARTLEY.

* Afterwards one of the Juſtices of the Court of King's Bench.

At a Meeting of the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin, on the 11th of April 1782, the following reſolutions were agreed to :

Reſolved, That no power on earth, but the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, can, in right, make laws to bind the people of this land.

Reſolved, That the Members of the Houſe of Commons are the Repreſentatives of, and derive their power ſolely from the People ; and that a denial of this propoſition by them would be to abdicate the repreſentation.

The following Addreſs was then read by the Chairman, and agreed to :

To the Rt. Hon. Luke Gardiner, *and Sir* Edward Newenham, *Knight.*

Gentlemen,

We, the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin, warmly coinciding with that determination reſpecting the conſtitutional rights of Ireland, with which the mind of every man in this nation is deeply impreſſed, think it our duty to expreſs thoſe feelings in the ſtrongeſt terms.

As you have already evinced your intention to ſupport the ſole and undoubted authority of the Legiſlature of Ireland to make laws for its government, we confidently hope and expect, that you will perſevere in purſuing the moſt deciſive and immediate meaſures that may effectually carry that great object into execution, by a ſolemn ratification of our rights.

Though this is, at the preſent criſis, the principal matter under the conſideration of Parliament, we have no doubt but that you muſt conſider it your duty to act, in all things that affect

affect the freedom of our Conſtitution, in ſuch manner as may become the repreſentatives of a great and independent country.

Reſolved, That copies of the above reſolutions and addreſs, ſigned by the High Sheriff and Foreman, be preſented to the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, and Sir Edward Newenham, Knight, and that the ſame, together with their anſwers, be publiſhed.

The following anſwers were returned:

To the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin.

Gentlemen,

It gives me very ſincere ſatisfaction, that my conduct, relative to the ſole and undoubted authority of the Legiſlature of Ireland, has merited your approbation. You may be aſſured, that I ſhall perſevere in giving my warmeſt ſupport to that great and important object, as I conſider it ſo deciſively founded in right, that no man, who loves to be free, can heſitate to acknowledge and to aſſert it.

With reſpect to any other matter that may affect the freedom of our Conſtitution, I am ſo conſcious of my intentions to promote the perfect contentment of this country, that I have no doubt I ſhall, in every particular, deſerve that confidence with which you have hitherto honoured me.

I am very glad that you have given me an opportunity of declaring my ſentiments thus publicly at this criſis; as I think that the time is now come which demands an explicit and a permanent ſettlement of the Conſtitution of Ireland, as the certain means of eſtabliſhing the tranquillity of this

country, and of perpetuating the harmony which ought to subsist between us and Great Britain.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect,

Your very obliged humble servant,

LUKE GARDINER.*

To the High Sheriff, Foreman, and Grand Jury of the County of Dublin.

Gentlemen,

I always receive your instructions with respect and pleasure, for it is equally my duty and inclination to obey them; if I did not, I should betray that delegated trust with which you have honoured me.

In respect to those great objects in which you desire "I "will persevere," I assure you, I will most faithfully pursue that line of conduct marked out by you; confident that his Majesty cannot, in justice to this independent kingdom, refuse his royal assent to such acts, as may be deemed by the Irish Parliament "a solemn ratification of our rights." I flatter myself that no Irish Minister should be found so presumptuous, as to impede the total annihilation of foreign usurpation; if such a Minister should be found, the Parliament of Ireland, supported by the general voice of the people, *ought* to do their duty. Though effectual impeachments have been too long neglected, and thereby our sister kingdom has nearly fallen a martyr to the corruption and wickedness of its Ministry, the spirit of this nation is too high, to submit patiently to national insults.

You are also pleased to direct me "to act in all things that affect the freedom of our Constitution, as may become the

* Afterwards *Lord Mountjoy*.

the Repreſentative of a great and independent Country;" in order to accompliſh that object, I have frequently introduced heads of a bill to ſecure the freedom of Parliament, by limiting the number of placemen, and totally excluding penſioners from ſitting therein; a hoſtile band of parliamentary placemen and penſioners is the foundation of internal and external corruption.

Every meaſure tending to maintain the freedom, or promote the trade and manufacture of your great, reſpectable, and independent country, ſhall meet my warmeſt ſupport in every ſtation of life.

I have the honour to be, with the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obliged and faithful truſtee,

EDWARD NEWENHAM.

At a full Meeting of the Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of Galway, aſſembled purſuant to public notice from the High Sheriff, at the County-hall, in Galway, March 31, 1782, the following reſolutions were unanimouſly entered into:

Reſolved, That a ſeat in Parliament was never intended by our Conſtitution as an inſtrument of emolument to individuals; and that the Repreſentative who perverts it to ſuch purpoſe (particularly at ſo momentous a period as the preſent) is guilty of betraying the truſt repoſed in him by the people for *their*, not *his* benefit.

Reſolved, That the people who could tamely behold their ſuffrages made the tool of private avarice or ambition, are ſtill more criminal than the venal Repreſentatives, as they become the panders without even the wages of proſtitution.

Reſolved, That when we daily ſee the mandate of the Miniſter ſuperſede all conviction in debate; when placed and penſioned Members of Parliament notoriouſly ſupport in public, meaſures which they condemn in private; when the hirelings of corruption avow, and Government have exemplified in recent inſtances of diſtinguiſhed public characters, that to vote according to conſcience, amounts to a diſqualification to hold any office in the ſervice of our country, it is time for the people to look to themſelves, and in great national queſtions to aſſert their right to controul thoſe who owe their political exiſtence to *their* birth, and may be annihilated by *their* diſpleaſure.

Reſolved, That, at an æra when every thing that can be dear to a nation is at ſtake, we are called upon by our duty to ourſelves, to our country, and to poſterity, to ſtand forth, and by the moſt unremitting exertions ſtem the returning torrent of corruption at home, and reſiſt uſurpation from abroad, that all mankind may ſee we are determined to preſerve the purity, while we vindicate the rights, of our Legiſlature.

Reſolved therefore, That we do hereby ſolemnly pledge ourſelves to each other, and to our country, by every tie of honour and religion which can be binding to man, that, as the ſacred duty which we owe to the community ſuperſedes all ties and obligations to individuals, we will not ſuffer private friendſhip or private virtues, to ward our ſettled determination not to vote for any man, at a future election, either for county, town, or borough, who ſhall act in oppoſition to our inſtructions, and who will not ſubſcribe a teſt to obey them previous to the election, or who ſhall abſent himſelf when thoſe queſtions on which we inſtruct him, are agitated in Parliament.

Reſolved, That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power competent to make laws to bind this

this kingdom, and that we will reſiſt the execution of any other laws with our lives and fortunes.

Reſolved, That if *force conſtitutes right*, the people of this country have a right to *uſe force* againſt the man who *dares* to maintain doctrines ſubverſive of their Conſtitution; but as the object is beneath the national reſentment, we ſhall only bid ſuch a man beware how he hereafter trifles with the rights of his country, and provokes the vengeance of a people determined to be *free*.*

Reſolved, That we highly approve of the reſolutions of the Volunteer Delegates, aſſembled at Dungannon and Ballinaſloe.

Reſolved, That the thanks of this county be returned to the minority in Parliament, and particularly to our countrymen Anthony Daly, Sir Henry Lynch Bloſſe, and Robert Dillon, Eſqrs.

Reſolved, That the following addreſſes be preſented to the Right Hon. Denis Daly, and W. P. Keating Trench, Eſqrs. Repreſentatives in Parliament for this county.

To Denis Daly, *Eſq.*

SIR,

"There is a moment in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals, which if ſeized and happily improved, may lead to proſperity, if neglected, may terminate in the rivetting of its oppreſſions. Such a moment is the preſent: the eyes of Europe are upon us, and poſterity will read our conduct with applauſe or execration, according to the uſe we make

* This alluded to an expreſſion which fell in debate from the late Lord *Clonmel*, and which was afterwards taken notice of at different public meetings.

make of the opportunities, which a providential combination of events has afforded us. When the rights of a nation become objects of public queſtion or diſcuſſion, not to aſſert is to relinquiſh, to heſitate is to betray. The die is caſt; if we advance with a manly and determined ſtep, we enſure ſucceſs; if we recede or divide, we ſink for ever; in ſo awful an hour, who is the man that, however unwilling to provoke the queſtion, will not in the day of trial be found in his poſt? Your private opinion, Sir, muſt give way to the national voice; the aſſemblage of qualities which formed and elevated your character, raiſed you to one of the moſt exalted ſituations a ſubject could arrive at. Your abilities remain, we have relied on your integrity; yet, we cannot but lament, that at the moment we ſtood in need of all the influence of ſuch a character, its brightneſs ſhould have been ſhaded, and its weight loſt to the nation, by being placed in a ſtation in which, however chaſte, it may at leaſt be ſuſpected. But waving at preſent the conſideration of this ſubject, we now call upon you, as one of our Repreſentatives, as you value our future approbation and ſupport, to give your fulleſt aſſiſtance to the following meaſures, whenever they ſhall be propoſed in Parliament, viz. *A declaration of our national rights*; *an ademption of the aſſumed power of the Privy Council to ſtop or alter bills*; *a mutiny bill limited in its duration*; *a bill rendering the Judges independent of the Crown*; *and a bill to reduce the expences of this nation to a level with its revenues*, as we cannot conceive a conduct more inſane, than for a people ſcarce emerging from ruin, like a profligate heir, to anticipate its funds, and ground *certain* extravagance on *uncertain* proſperity."

To W. P. Keating Trench, *Eſq.*

SIR,

"The preſent period calls upon every man in this country to take an active and decided part in the common cauſe. The

The nation is not now to be trifled with. Upon our conduct at this eventful hour, depends the eſtabliſhment of our Conſtitution, and the liberties of unborn generations. We ſhall not, Sir, ſuffer our attention to be drawn from the great objects in which we are engaged, by a retroſpect into your paſt parliamentary conduct, however diſſonant in many points from our opinions; but we call upon you, if you value our future approbation, to give your fulleſt ſupport to the following meaſures whenever they ſhall be agitated in Parliament, viz. A declaration of our national rights; an ademption of the power of the Privy Council to ſtop or alter bills; a mutiny bill limited in its duration; a bill to render the Judges independent of the Crown; and a bill to reduce the national expences to a level with its revenues."

At a Meeting of the Electors of the Univerſity, on the 2d of April, the following Addreſs was unanimouſly agreed to, and ordered to be preſented to their Repreſentatives:

To the Right Honourable WALTER BURGH, *and* JOHN FITZGIBBON, *Eſq. Repreſentatives in Parliament for the Univerſity of Dublin.*

Gentlemen,

When the murmurs of a people, ſtruggling for their rights, have been heard even in the quiet retreat of ſcience, we ſhould deem it a breach of duty to our countrymen and ourſelves, did we neglect to ſecond their virtuous exertions: we are never forward in political conteſts; we ſhall always be decided and ſteady; although we have not been the firſt to complain of, yet, we have not been the laſt to feel the repeated injuries this country has ſuffered, not only from thoſe who may have ſeparate duties and ſeparate intereſts, but

but from men who are bound by the ſtrongeſt duty, and the deareſt intereſt, to vindicate its rights, and cheriſh its proſperity.

The power of binding Ireland by acts of a foreign Legiſlature, is what nothing but a ſpirit of arrogance or oppreſſion would inſiſt upon, nothing but the moſt abject ſervility ſubmit to; for we cannot ſuppoſe, that the appearance of a claim which irritates the whole body of the people, would be retained, unleſs there was an intention of enforcing this claim hereafter; we are therefore convinced, that an expreſs declaration of rights, is the only meaſure upon which this country can build its legiſlative independence, and that a reluctance to aſſert the conſtitution of the land, may furniſh Great Britain with a pretence for denying the juſtice of our requiſition.

We do not think the preſent ſituation of Great Britain to be any objection againſt ſuch a declaration, as we can never ſuppoſe that ſhe could derive ſtrength from our weakneſs, or any ſecurity to her liberties from the oppreſſion of ours; and *that* time is undoubtedly to be preferred for the aſſertion of our rights, when the object is likely to be obtained with the leaſt ſtruggle.

The inſecure attachment of Ireland to the Crown of England at a former period, furniſhed a pretext for diveſting the Houſes of Parliament of their right to originate bills, unleſs previouſly certified into England under the Great Seal of this kingdom; now, as the loyalty of this country for ſeveral centuries paſt, ſo often tried, and ſo often acknowledged, has removed every cauſe of diſtruſt, we conceive that this injurious and humiliating reſtriction ſhould alſo ceaſe.

The

The dependance of the Judges of Ireland on the will of the Sovereign, may, in the hands of an aſpiring Monarch, prove a powerful inſtrument of oppreſſion; now, holding ourſelves entitled to every conſtitutional ſecurity which our ſiſter kingdom poſſeſſes, we conſider it neceſſary that the Judges of this kingdom ſhould be made equally independent with thoſe of Great Britain.

But ſince every advantage which could reſult from theſe reformations muſt be precarious, as long as a perpetual mutiny bill exiſts, by which, force may be made to ſuperſede right, and the ſoldiery of Ireland are ſubjected to trial and puniſhment by any future articles of war, which the King and Privy Council of Great Britain may think proper to adopt; we are perſuaded, that every conceſſion muſt be imperfect, unleſs accompanied by the repeal of ſo dangerous a law.

We therefore expect you will exert your moſt ſtrenuous efforts, to obtain a declaration of the rights of Ireland; a repeal or ſatisfactory explanation of the law of Poynings'; an act for making the tenure of the Judges independent of the Crown; and a repeal of the perpetual mutiny bill.

We declare, That theſe are our fixed and unalterable ſentiments, and we are convinced that nothing ſhort of the requiſitions herein contained, can be, in any degree, ſatisfactory to the people of Ireland.

It is our wiſh to render the connexion between this country and Great Britain as cloſe and permanent as poſſible, and we are perſuaded that this is only to be accompliſhed by aboliſhing all uſurped authority of the one over the other, and removing every invidious diſtinction between the Conſtitutions of two countries, equally entitled to be free.

To this Addreſs the following Anſwers were returned:

To the Electors *of the* Univerſity.

Gentlemen,

When I reflect on my paſt parliamentary conduct, it affords me the higheſt ſatisfaction, to find that it entirely correſponds with the tenor of your inſtructions. Whenever the objects that you recommend have come into diſcuſſion, I have given them my uniform and decided ſupport. My conduct has been founded upon principles, which no motives of intereſt or ambition have been able to ſhake, and in which I ſhall perſevere unto the laſt hour of my life.

I have the honour to be,
With the greateſt reſpect,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt faithful humble ſervant,
WALTER BURGH.*

To the Electors *of* Trinity College.

Gentlemen,

I am juſt now honoured with your inſtructions, which have been forwarded to me by poſt. Be aſſured, that I ſhall always feel the utmoſt ſatisfaction in receiving the inſtructions of that very great and reſpectable body which I have the honour to repreſent, and that you ſhall ever find me ready, to the beſt of my ability, to vindicate your rights.

I have always been of opinion, that the claim of the Britiſh Parliament to make laws for this country, is a daring uſurpation on the rights of a free people, and have uniformly aſſerted

* Afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

asserted this opinion both in public and in private. When a declaration of the legislative right was moved in the House of Commons, I did oppose it, upon a decided conviction that it was a measure of a dangerous tendency, and withal inadequate to the purpose for which it was intended. However, I do, without hesitation, yield my own opinion upon this subject to yours, and will, whenever such a declaration shall be moved, give it my support.

With respect to an explanation of the law of Poyning, I confess, the more I consider the subject, the more difficult it appears to me. Allow me to remind you, that the University did, upon a very recent occasion, experience that this law, in its present form, may operate beneficially. A total repeal of it, will I hope, on consideration, appear to you to be not, by any means, a desirable object—You may rest assured, that the best attention which I can give to the subject shall be exerted; and I trust and doubt not, that upon a communication with you upon this topic, I shall be able to give you full satisfaction.

I agree with you most warmly, that any advantage which we may derive from reformation must be precarious, so long as the articles of war shall continue to be a permanent and established branch of municipal law, which they certainly are under the present act for regulating the King's army in Ireland. I have not a doubt in my mind, that a perpetual mutiny law lays the foundation of a military government in this country; upon this principle I did oppose it as strenuously as I could, from the first moment it was introduced into the House of Commons, and upon this principle I will, whilst I live, make every effort within my power to procure a repeal of it. The administration of justice in this country is certainly an object of the first importance, and

and therefore I will, at all times, concur in any measure which can be proposed to make the Judges of the land independent and respectable.

I have the honour to be,
Gentlemen,
With great respect,
Your most obedient, and
Very humble servant,
JOHN FITZGIBBON.†

In these answers we have the concurrent opinion of two eminent judicial characters—the last of whom, still continues an ornament to the highest situation in the law department; the former we have to regret is now no more; but his memory will exist in the minds of his countrymen, whilst patriotic integrity, sound learning, eminent abilities, and every amiable virtue deserve to be held in remembrance.

† Now Earl of Clare and Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XI.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Addreſs on the Portugal Buſineſs. Lord Carliſle's reſignation.---Mr. Eden's conduct in the Britiſh Parliament.---Debates there relative to the Legiſlative Freedom of Ireland.---Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Parliament of Ireland.---Debates.---Addreſs to his Majeſty.---Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons.---Reward voted to Mr. Grattan for his eminent Services, &c.

WE return now to the Parliamentary proceedings in both kingdoms. With reſpect to the affairs with *Portugal*, Mr. Secretary *Eden*, on the 5th of March 1782, communicated to the Houſe of Commons his Majeſty's gracious anſwer to the addreſs, which was as follows :

" His Majeſty has received the addreſs of the Houſe of Commons with that affectionate ſatisfaction, which their profeſſions of duty, loyalty and zealous attachment to his Perſon and Royal Family never fail to excite in his Majeſty's breaſt ; and his Majeſty does not admit a doubt, that thoſe principles will continue to conſtitute, as they have hitherto invariably done, a moſt diſtinguiſhed part of the character of his people of Ireland.

" His Majeſty gives his faithful Commons the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that the confidence they ſo dutifully repoſe in his paternal protection, which has been conſtantly exerted during the courſe of his reign, in promoting and eſtabliſhing the proſperity of his kingdom of *Ireland*, is moſt juſtly founded, as no purpoſe is nearer his Majeſty's heart than to afford them every ſolid proof of that protection.

" His Majeſty is not ſurprized that his faithful Commons, always attentive to the true intereſt of this country, ſhould have obſerved, with alarm and concern, the obſtruction given in the ports of *Portugal* to the importation of *Iriſh* woollen and printed linen manufactures into that kingdom; and the full ſatisfaction which the Houſe of Commons expreſs in his Majeſty's ſolicitude upon this important ſubject, and in his unremitted endeavours to open the eyes of *Portugal*, not only to the true ſenſe of the treaties between the two Crowns, but to a juſt underſtanding of her own real intereſts, is graciouſly accepted by his Majeſty.

" His Majeſty applauds the temper and moderation of his Commons upon this occaſion; ſuch a conduct is always becoming of their prudence and wiſdom, but particularly ſo in the preſent inſtance, as it affords time for further exertions towards bringing this buſineſs to a happy concluſion; and the Houſe of Commons may reſt aſſured, that his Majeſty will perſevere in every poſſible effort for the attainment of that deſirable end."†

Two national ſubjects, now engaged the attention of Parliament—*Legiſlative Freedom*—and the extenſion of further relief to *Roman Catholics*. We ſhall conſider theſe ſeparately.

A general change having taken place in the *Britiſh Miniſtry*, Mr. *Eden* went to London, with Lord *Carliſle's* reſignation of the Lieutenancy of this kingdom, deſiring only time to make ſome neceſſary arrangements, and to cloſe the Seſſion of Parliament. On the 14th of April, his Grace the Duke of *Portland* arrived in Dublin, and immediately took upon him the Chief Government of Ireland.

Mr. *Eden*, very ſpeedily after his arrival in England, laid before the Britiſh Parliament, a view of the political hiſtory of

† Com. Journ. Vol. xx.

of *Ireland*, during the two laſt years; acquainted the Houſe with the meaſures which (he ſaid) were then forming, for rendering it totally independent of the Britiſh Legiſlature; and concluded with moving for leave to bring in a bill to repeal ſo much of the act of 6th Geo. I. as aſſerted a right in the King and Parliament of *Great Britain*, to make laws to bind this kingdom.

The precipitation with which a buſineſs of ſuch magnitude and importance was thus attempted to be forced on the Houſe, without previous communication with any of his Majeſty's Miniſters, or knowledge of their intentions, was ſeverely cenſured, and the more eſpecially as it appeared that the Right Hon. Gentleman had refuſed to give any official information to Government relative to the ſtate of the country he had juſt left. Mr. *Eden*, though loudly called on to withdraw his motion, perſiſted in urging its neceſſity, and in vindication of his own conduct ſtated, that the reaſon of his refuſing to have any communication with his Majeſty's preſent ſervants, was the great want of attention to the Earl of *Carliſle*, which they had ſhewn in the mode of appointing his ſucceſſor, and in his removal from the Lord Lieutenancy of the Eaſt Riding of Yorkſhire. This apology ſerved rather to increaſe the diſpleaſure of the Houſe; a motion of cenſure on his conduct was threatened, and it was with great difficulty he was at laſt brought to comply with the general wiſh of the Houſe, in withdrawing his motion.

Mr. *Fox* informed the Houſe in the courſe of this debate, that the Miniſters of the Crown, during the ſhort time they had been in office, had actually held three or four Councils, ſolely on the affairs of *Ireland*, and that he hoped very ſoon, perhaps within the next four and twenty hours, to lay ſome preparatory meaſure before them. Accordingly the next day he brought a meſſage from his Majeſty to inform the

Houſe, " That being concerned to find diſcontents and jealouſies prevailing amongſt his loyal ſubjects in Ireland, on matters of great weight and importance, he earneſtly recommended to the Houſe to take the ſame into their moſt ſerious conſideration, in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment, as might give mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms." A meſſage to the ſame effect was delivered to the Lords, the firſt day of their meeting, and addreſſes were unanimouſly voted by both Houſes.

It being the declared intention of Adminiſtration in Great Britain, to proceed in this arduous buſineſs, in concert with the Parliament of Ireland, a meſſage conceived in terms ſimilar with thoſe preſented to the Engliſh Houſes, was communicated to the Houſe of Commons *here*, ſoon after the arrival of the Duke of *Portland*.

This meſſage was delivered by the late Right Hon. *John Hely Hutchinſon*, then his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State in this kingdom, who thereupon declared he had no authority to ſay any thing further from his Grace; but could not avoid congratulating his country on this meſſage, and expreſſing his opinion, that a Nobleman of ſuch high rank and character would not have reſorted to this Government with ſuch uncommon diſpatch, and in the midſt of a Seſſion, but for purpoſes the moſt ſalutary and beneficent to this kingdom. He begged to ſay a few words, not as an officer of the Crown, but as a Gentleman of the country.—As to the right of this kingdom to be bound by no other laws but thoſe made by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, he had always aſſerted it from the ſeat of judicature as a Judge; and in this Houſe as a Repreſentative of the People. He ſhould be glad that every man in Great Britain underſtood what every man underſtood here, that the claim was not new, it was as old as the invaſion of the right; the

the principal Lords and Commons of Ireland in the year 1741, complained of it as an innovation unknown to their anceſtors. Soon after the reſtoration, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, in an addreſs to the Lord Lieutenant, and in the preſence of both Houſes, ſtated the right of Ireland to be governed only by laws made by her own Parliament; and ſoon after the revolution, this queſtion was placed out of the reach of controverſy, by the work of a great ſcholar and philoſopher. †

He then mentioned Mr. *Grattan* in terms of the higheſt reſpect, and ſaid he muſt ever live in the hearts of his countrymen; but the preſent age and poſterity would be indebted to him for the greateſt of all obligations, and would, but he hoped, at a great diſtance of time, inſcribe on his tomb, that he had redeemed the liberties of his country. He ſaid, that whatever mode ſhould be propoſed for the declaration of this right, in terms the moſt unequivocal and explicit, whether by vote, addreſs, or bill, ſhould receive his ſtrongeſt ſupport, provided it contained ſuch ſentiments of duty and loyalty to the King, and affection to our fellow-ſubjects of Great Britain, as every man in this nation felt. When this point was fully eſtabliſhed, it would let in new light on other parts of the Conſtitution. He had conſidered thoſe ſtatutes, called Poyning's law, as containing ſtrong arguments in ſupport of the independence of the Iriſh Legiſlature; but this independence being eſtabliſhed, or at the eve of being ſo, he ſhould agree to a bill for the modification of Poyning's law, ſo as to prevent the ſtopping or altering our bills in our Privy Council, or the alteration of them elſewhere; for he could never agree to give any other Privy Council a power which we took from our own.

He thought it neceſſary that the mutiny bill ſhould be made triennial. He voted for it as ſuch on its firſt introduction.

† Wm. Molyneux, Eſq. Author of the "*Caſe of Ireland*," &c.

duction. The conſequence was, his having been repreſented very unjuſtly, as inimical to the Government which he had ſo long ſerved with zeal and conſtancy. He voted for the preſent act to prevent that diſturbance of the public tranquillity which the rejection of it would have immediately and unavoidably occaſioned, but had declared at the ſame time, his opinion in favour of a limited bill. He obſerved, that there were objects of ſuch great national concern, as could only be obtained by the ſpirit of the people; that ſpirit was now become univerſal; and that it was the duty of the Repreſentatives of the People, to repeat the public voice, and to conform their conduct to the determined ſpirit of the nation. He recommended, to proceed with unanimity and firmneſs, with that duty, loyalty and attachment, which they owed to their Sovereign, and with that regard to the inſeparable connexion between the two kingdoms, which the Conſtitution of Ireland, and the mutual intereſts of both kingdoms required.

Mr. George Ponſonby moved, that a dutiful and loyal addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, thanking him for his moſt gracious meſſage, and aſſuring him, that his faithful Commons would immediately proceed upon the great objects he had recommended to their conſideration.

Mr. Grattan ſaid, he would ſtate to the Houſe his reaſons for changing, in ſome meaſure, the form of the addreſs propoſed by the Hon. Gentleman, and hoped to induce the Houſe, rather to declare that they had conſidered the cauſes of jealouſy; and that they were contained in his original motion for a declaration of rights, which he would now move as an amendment to the addreſs. He ſaid he had nothing to add, but to admire by what ſteady virtue the people had aſſerted their own rights. He was not very old, and yet, he remembered Ireland a child. He had watched her growth; from infancy ſhe grew to arms; from arms to liberty.

liberty. She was not now afraid of the French; she was not now afraid of the English; she was not now afraid of herself. Her sons were no longer an arbitrary gentry; a ruined commonalty; Protestants oppressing Catholics, Catholics groaning under oppression—but she was now a united land.

Turn, (said he), to the rest of Europe, you will find the antient spirit every where expired. Sweden has lost her liberty, England is declining; the other nations support their consequence on the remembrance of a mighty name, but ye are the only people who have recovered your Constitution—who have recovered it by steady virtue. Ye not only excell modern Europe, but ye excell what she can boast of old.—Whenever great revolutions were made in favour of liberty, they were owing to the quick feeling of an irresistible populace, excited by some strong object presented to their senses. Such an object was the daughter of Virginius—sacrificed to virtue; and such the seven bishops, whose meagre and haggard looks expressed the rigour of their suffering: but no history can produce an instance of men like you, musing for years upon oppression, and then, upon a determination of right, RESCUING THE LAND. You will find that the supporters of liberty in the reign of Charles the First, mixed their sentiments of constitution with principles of gloomy bigotry; but amongst us, you see delegates of the North, advocates for the Catholics of the South; the Presbytery of Bangor mixing the milk of humanity with the benignity of the gospel—as Christians tolerant—as Irishmen united.—This House agreeing with the desires of the nation, passed the Popery-bill, and by so doing got more than it gave; yet found advantages from generosity, and grew rich in the very act of charity. Ye gave not, but ye formed an alliance between the Protestant and the Catholic powers, for the security of Ireland.

Fortunately for us, England did not take the lead; her Miniſter did not take the lead in the reſtoration of our rights; if ſhe had, we ſhould have ſunk under the obligation, and given back in ſheepiſh gratitude the whole advantage; but the *virtue, the pride of the people* was our reſource, and it is right *that* people ſhould have a lofty conception of themſelves; though it is wonderful they ſhould preſerve their ancient pride, not having amongſt them any of thoſe outward and viſible ſigns of glory, thoſe monuments of their heroic anceſtors, ſuch as were wont to animate the ancient Greeks and Romans, and rouſe them in their country's cauſe. They had nothing, ſuch as theſe, to call forth the greatneſs of the land, and therefore it is aſtoniſhing they ſhould preſerve their pride; but more aſtoniſhing, that they ſhould proceed with a temper ſeldom found amongſt the injured, and a ſucceſs never but with the virtuous. They have no trophies, but the *liberty* they tranſmit to their poſterity is more than trophy. What ſets one nation up above another, but the ſoul that dwells therein? for it is of no avail, that the arm be ſtrong if the ſoul be not great. What ſignifies it, that three hundred men in the Houſe of Commons—what ſignifies it that one hundred men in the Houſe of Peers, aſſert their country's liberty, if unſupported by the people? But there is not a man in Ireland—there is not a grand jury—there is not an aſſociation—there is not a corps of volunteers—there is not a meeting of their delegates, which does not maintain the independence of the Iriſh Conſtitution, and pledge themſelves to ſupport the Parliament in fixing that Conſtitution on its rightful baſis. Gentlemen will perceive that I allude to the tranſaction at Dungannon; not long ago the meeting at Dungannon was conſidered as a very alarming meaſure; but I thought otherwiſe—I approved of it, and conſidered the meeting of Dungannon as an *original tranſaction*. As ſuch only it was matter of ſurprize. What more extraordinary tranſaction than the attainment of

Magna

Magna Charta ? It was not attained in Parliament, but by the *Barons, armed and in the field.* A great original tranſaction is not founded in precedent, it contains in itſelf both reaſon and precedent ; the revolution had no precedent—the Chriſtian religion had no precedent—the Apoſtles had no precedent.

In this country every man has a ſhare in the Government, and in order to act or ſpeak they muſt confer. Now, did not neceſſity compel them to act—did not neceſſity compel them to ſpeak—and will not their reſolutions tend to reſtore the rights of their country—they reſolve, " that a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconſtitutional and a grievance."

Is there any man who will deny it, for what were volunteer aſſociations formed, but for the maintenance of the law ? What is Poyning's law, and the unconſtitutional power of the Iriſh or Engliſh Privy Council, but a grievance ? What is a perpetual Mutiny-bill, but a grievance ? Is there any man who will deny it, or ſay that we have not cauſe to complain of this execrated ſtatute ? And if you feel the injury, the people are ready to ſupport you. They proteſt againſt an independent army—againſt a dependant Legiſlature—againſt the abomination of a foreign Legiſlature—againſt the aſſumed authority of Council ; they were more conſtitutional than more formal aſſemblies—they have proteſted only againſt what Parliament ought to redreſs ; and pray, Sir, have not the conſtituents a right to inform their Repreſentatives ? Let other nations baſely ſuppoſe that the people were made for Government ; we aſſert that Government was made for the people ; great and auguſt as they are, they do but perform their periodical revolutions ; even the Crown, that great luminary, whoſe brightneſs they all

reflect,

aeflect, receives his chearing fire from the flame of the Conſtitution, and therefore we may ſeek the ſentiments of public meetings; and when we ſpeak, let us ſpeak with effect: Let us ſpeak to the King as to a man who has feelings like ourſelves, and like ourſelves will ſpeak the claims of liberty.

Did you ever imagine that the men who uſed to be laughed at in your ſtreets—did you imagine that they who were the ſcoff of ſaucy affectation, ſhould prove the ſaviours of their country? ſhould proceed with ſuch moderation as to be dreadful only to the enemies of their country and of their country's Conſtitution? If England wiſhes well to Ireland, ſhe has nothing to fear from her ſtrength. The Volunteers of Ireland would die in ſupport of England. This nation is connected with England, not by *allegiance* only, but by *liberty*—the Crown is one great point of union, but Magna Charta is a greater—we could get a King any where, but England is the only country from which we could get a Conſtitution. We are not united with England as Judge *Blackſtone* has fooliſhly ſaid, by conqueſt, but by charter. Ireland has Britiſh privileges, and is by them connected with Britain—both countries are united in liberty. This being the decided ſenſe of the nation, the men who endeavoured to make our connexion with England quadrate with this ſenſe, are friends to England. We are friends to England on perfect political equality. This Houſe of Parliament know no ſuperior; the men of Ireland acknowledge no ſuperiors; they have claimed laws under the Conſtitution, and the independence of Parliament under every law of God and man. It now becomes a matter of policy as well as of right. Will the Noblemen, the Gentlemen, the armed men of Ireland, ſtoop to any other people? No, never. The queſtion is put to us by an act lately made—what is it? but that America differing from Ireland in not having a conſtitution, in not having

having a charter; in having leſs loyalty than Ireland—in having ſhed much Engliſh blood—that America ſhall be free! And will Ireland ſink in a new point, and be the only *nation whoſe liberty England will not acknowledge, and whoſe affection ſhe cannot ſubdue?* For acknowledging American liberty, England has the plea of neceſſity; for acknowledging the liberty of Ireland, ſhe has the plea of juſtice. The Britiſh nation, if ſhe conſults with the head or with the heart, will not, or cannot refuſe our claims; or were it poſſible ſhe could refuſe, I will not ſubmit. The Members of this Houſe cannot ſubmit; we have received honours from the people; can we take the civic crown and lay it at the feet of Britiſh ſupremacy? Shall the coloniſts of America be free, and the loyal people of Ireland be ſlaves? No—I know the Gentlemen of this country too well. I know they will not ſubmit. The ſubmiſſion would go againſt their perſonal eſtimation as well as againſt their public right. They would not ſubmit to the inſult in the face of Europe.

I have done with the ſupremacies of England, and ſhall now ſay a word on the appellant juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords.

I think that in order to eradicate every cauſe of jealouſy, the final judicature ſhould reſide in the Peers of Ireland—'tis the conſtitution and muſt be reſtored. The incompetence of the Lords to decide in queſtions of law is no argument: The lay Lords in both kingdoms are incompetent, but the law Lords are competent, or why are they Judges? Nor can we fear any abuſe of this power. The Lords will exerciſe with caution a power reſtored to them by the virtue of their countrymen. Beſides, let us recollect that to reſtore this power is a matter of neceſſity, for we are this day called upon to ſettle the Conſtitution; and if we leave any thing unſettled, if we leave any thing unaſſerted, we are reſponſible.

The

The people of England are indifferent : I have letters which aſſure me of it, and that the repeal of the 6th of George 1ſt was oppoſed, becauſe that repeal was not in *toto*. This is the opinion of Lord Mahon, an Engliſhman, who underſtands good ſenſe and conſtitution. I therefore ſuppoſe England meets our wiſhes, and that the new Miniſtry intend to remove every ſubject of diſpute, and throw themſelves on the ſupport of the people ; then how can we ſupport them, if any cauſe of diſpute be left ? and ſurely this is cauſe for future oppoſition—England has ſaid, ſtate your grievances ; and ſhall we neglect to do ſo ? If we do, and if there ſhall be general meetings of the People and of the Volunteers, to complain of grievances after what is intended for a final adjuſtment, would not England think that there was ſomething inſatiable in the Iriſh people ? Let us then reſtore the appellant juriſdiction, for if that part of the act be not repealed, they leave not only the claim of Britiſh ſupremacy ſtanding againſt us, but they leave the exerciſe of the power exiſting—It muſt be repealed in toto, and if repealed, their original right reverts to the Peers of courſe. Thus you muſt either reſtore the Lords to their privilege, if you mean to remove the claim and exerciſe of Britiſh ſupremacy, or you muſt diveſt them of it by Iriſh acts of Parliament. But will the Peers ſubmit to this ? Will the people ſubmit ? Will you expoſe Adminiſtration to the odium of ſuch an act ? It cannot be—the illuſtrious Houſe of Peers, compoſed of perſons of the firſt learning, talents and abilities—aged men, matured in wiſdom—aſpiring youth, animated to glory, never will reſt in the faſhionable inſignificance to which they have been reduced—no, they ſhall ſit in the ſeat of their anceſtors, diſpenſing juſtice to their country. England can have no objection to this—ſhe is not ſo ambitious of the trouble of being an arbiter.

Mr.

Mr. Grattan again returned to the Mutiny-bill and Poyning's law, which he condemned in the moſt forcible manner. He ſaid that he wiſhed to become the decided friend of the Duke of *Portland*, for removing every cauſe of complaint from Ireland, and that theſe were the terms on which he was ready to ſupport his Government.

A repeal of the 6th of Grorge 1ſt, including a reſtoration of the appellant juriſdiction on the Lords of Ireland.

An abolition of the unconſtitutional power of Privy Councils.

And a repeal of the Mutiny-bill.

A Judge's-bill he refrained from mentioning, as he had heard it was returned.

I cannot imagine (continued he) that the preſent Miniſters of England will oppoſe thoſe rights of the Iriſh nation; they have been for many years advocates for the liberties of England and of the colonies; it was the great rule of their oppoſition, and it is impoſſible that men who are ready to grant independence to Americac, an oppoſe the independence of Ireland. If the Miniſtry loſt half the colonies during the courſe of an unſucceſsful war, Ireland in that time from a colony became a nation; and what can be more advantageous to the declining Conſtitution of Britain, than that Ireland ſhould have ſpirit? If Miniſters have the ſame powers and the ſame ſentiments in office that they had when in oppoſition, if they are not afraid of Ireland, if they mean to redreſs, and not merely pacify this country, they will give us *ample* and *unqualified redreſs; the Iriſh people* then are their *friends*, the *Volunteers* are their *army*, and WE are their *ſupporters*. We will give them a ſupport very different from the canting of moderation, or that ſort of penſioned loyalty whoſe exertions never went beyond theſe walls; but then the redreſs muſt be

be *manly*, and ſtrictly conſtitutional—there muſt be no *ſhuffling*, no *artful delay*. I do not ſay that Miniſters ſhould take the lead in this buſineſs; if they will but comply, if they will not oppoſe our rights, I will ſupport their Adminiſtration. I am very far from ſaying, that under the preſent Government independent Gentlemen may not accept of places. I think that places are now honourable, and in taking one I ſhould be the friend of the people and of his Majeſty's Governor. I have no perſonal knowledge of the Lord Lieutenant. I was not acquainted with thoſe about him; nay, if he had ſent for me, I am perſuaded I ſhould have declined the honour of ſeeing him. But as I believe his Government will be virtuous, ſo far he ſhall have my *free ſupport*. The way to make Miniſters œconomical, is to ſupport them for nothing—upon principles of virtue. †

Mr. Grattan then moved, which was RESOLVED, *nem. con.*

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return his Majeſty the thanks of this Houſe for his moſt gracious meſſage to this Houſe, ſigned by his Grace the Lord Lieutenant.

"To aſſure his Majeſty of our unſhaken attachment to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, and of our lively ſenſe of his paternal care, in thus taking the lead to adminiſter content to his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland.

"That thus encouraged by his Royal interpoſition, we ſhall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his Majeſty the cauſe of our diſcontents and jealouſies: To aſſure his Majeſty that his ſubjects of Ireland are a FREE PEOPLE; that the Crown of Ireland is an Imperial Crown, inſeparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the intereſts and happineſs of both nations

. . . . . eſſentially

† Parliamentary Regiſter, Vol. I.—Dublin printed by J. & W. Porter, 1782.

eſſentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a diſtinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the ſole Legiſlature thereof; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland; nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power, of any ſort whatſoever, in this country, ſave only the Parliament of Ireland. To aſſure his Majeſty, that we humbly conceive that in this right the very eſſence of our liberties exiſts; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, and which we cannot yield BUT WITH OUR LIVES.

"To aſſure his Majeſty that we have ſeen with concern certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain, in an act entitled an act for the better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland: An act containing matter entirely irreconcileable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That we conceive this act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cauſe of the diſcontents and jealouſies in this kingdom.

"To aſſure his Majeſty that his Majeſty's Commons of Ireland do moſt ſincerely wiſh that all the bills which become law in Ireland, ſhould receive the approbation of his Majeſty under the Great Seal of Britain; but that yet we do conſider the practice of ſuppreſſing our bills in the Council of Ireland, or altering the ſame any where, to be another juſt cauſe of diſcontent and jealouſy.

"To aſſure his Majeſty that an act entitled an act for the better accommodation of his Majeſty's forces, being unlimited in duration, and defective in other inſtances, but paſſed in that ſhape from the particular circumſtances of the times, is another juſt cauſe of diſcontent and jealouſy in this kingdom.

"That

"That we have submitted these the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress.

"That we have the greatest reliance on his Majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a Chief Governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional councils, which we see, with satisfaction, his Majesty has adopted.

"That we have moreover, a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive that the proceedings of this country, founded as they are in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride of the British nation.

"And we beg leave to assure his Majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the British nation."*

On the ground of this address, the repeal of the act complained of, was moved by the two Secretaries of State on the same day, (May 17th) in both Houses of the *British Parliament*. The other two points lying between the Parliament of Ireland and the King, it was only resolved in the House of Commons, "That it was essentially necessary to the mutual happiness of the two countries, that a firm and solid connexion should be forthwith established, by the consent of both, and that his Majesty should be requested to give the proper directions for promoting the same."

These

* Comm. Journ. Vol. 20.

These motions passed after a short conversation, without any opposition; and on the 27th of the same month, the Duke of *Portland* made the following speech to both Houses of Parliament in this kingdom:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"It gives me the utmost satisfaction that, the first time I have occasion to address you, I find myself enabled by the magnanimity of the King, and the wisdom of the Parliament of Great Britain, to assure you that immediate attention has been paid to your representations, and that the British Legislature have concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of your discontents and jealousies, and are united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in your late addresses to the Throne.

"If any thing could add to the pleasure I feel in giving you these assurances, it is, that I can accompany them with my congratulations on the important and decisive victory gained by the fleets of his Majesty, over those of our common enemy in the West Indies, and on the signal advantage obtained by his Majesty's arms in the island of Ceylon and on the coast of Coromandel.

"By the papers which, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, I have directed to be laid before you, you will receive the most convincing testimony of the cordial reception which your representations have met with from the Legislature of Great Britain; but his Majesty, whose first and most anxious wish is to exercise his Royal prerogative in such a manner as may be most conducive to the welfare of all his faithful subjects, has further given it me in command, to assure you of his gracious disposition to give his Royal Assent to acts to prevent the suppression of bills in the Privy Council of this kingdom, and the alteration of them any where;

and to limit the duration of the act for the better regulation and accommodation of his Majesty's forces in this kingdom, to the term of two years.

"These benevolent intentions of his Majesty, and the willingness of his Parliament of Great Britain to second his gracious purposes, are unaccompanied by any stipulation or condition whatever. The good faith, the generosity, the honour of this nation afford them the surest pledge of a corresponding disposition on your part to promote and perpetuate the harmony, the stability, and the glory of the empire.

"On my own part I entertain not the least doubt, but that the same spirit which urged you to share the freedom of Great Britain, will confirm you in your determination to share her fate also—standing and falling with the British nation."*

After the speech was read, Mr. Grattan called the attention of the House to a subject of the highest importance, and said, I should desert every principle upon which I moved the former address, *(requiring a restoration of the Rights of Ireland)* did I not bear testimony to the candid and unqualified manner in which that address has been answered by the Lord Lieutenant's speech of this day. I understand that Great Britain gives up *in toto* every claim to authority over Ireland. I have not the least idea that in repealing the 6th of George I. Great Britain should be bound to make any declaration that she had formerly usurped a power—No, this would be a foolish caution—a dishonourable condition. The nation that insists upon the humiliation of another is a foolish nation—Ireland is not a foolish nation. Another part of great magnanimity in the conduct of Britain is, that every thing is given up *unconditionally*. This must for ever remove suspicion.

* Comm. Journ. Vol. 20.

ſuſpicion. On former occaſions, when little acts of relief were done for Ireland, it was premiſed, " *that it was expedient to do them* ;" no ſuch word is now made uſe of. Never did a Britiſh Miniſter ſupport ſuch honourable claims on ſuch conſtitutional arguments. With reſpect to the writ of error, though not mentioned in our addreſs, he took it up in the moſt effectual way ; and indeed the whole tenor of his conduct towards us has been moſt generous and ſincere : we had one advantage—he entertained an opinion that Ireland *was not inſatiable*, though it had been aſſerted that Ireland *was inſatiable*—but we are bound to prove the falſhood of that aſſertion : for as the nation was pledged to itſelf to obtain a reſtoration of her rights, ſo now when her rights are reſtored liberally and unconditionally, ſhe is pledged to Great Britain, who by acceding to our claims, has put an end to all future queſtions. We have now *recovered a Conſtitution*, and our buſineſs is not to *advance*, but to *maintain* it. Ireland will manifeſt as much magnanimity in the moderation by which ſhe maintains her Conſtitution, as by the exertions through which it has been recovered. The unanimity with which the Britiſh Houſe of Commons acceded to our claims, muſt for ever do them honour ; and the ſingle negative in the Lords, whilſt it in no wiſe diminiſhes their praiſe, has its uſe---it ſerves to diſcover, and for ever to exclude from truſt or confidence in *either nation*, the man who could not only oppoſe the intereſt and happineſs of *both*, but alſo the ardent wiſhes and deſires of his Sovereign to make his people happy. We ought not to forget the able ſupport given by thoſe perſons who compoſed the *late* Adminiſtration of Ireland---it muſt be highly agreeable to thoſe who compoſe the preſent.

The things ſo graciouſly offered by our Sovereign, are the modification of Poyning's law, and not only the abridgment of the Mutiny-bill, in point of *duration*, but the forming of

it on the model of the Engliſh Mutiny-bill, and prefacing it with a Declaration of Right.

As Great Britain and her Miniſters have unconditionally agreed to the demands of Ireland, I think the ſpirit of the nation is called upon to make an unconditional grant to England. The ſea is the element which nature points as the ſcene of Britiſh glory; it is there we can moſt effectually aſſiſt her. Twenty thouſand ſeamen would be a noble ſupport, and we, who have been ſquandering the public money, in all the waſte of blind extravagance, cannot ſurely now deem 100,000l. too large a ſum when applied to the common defence of the empire---the ſum is trifling, but the aſſiſtance of 20,000 Iriſhmen would be great; and Gentlemen will now, when they retire to their different counties, have a full opportunity, in aſſiſting to raiſe thoſe men, of manifeſting their zeal for the common cauſe of Great Britain and Ireland. There is alſo another means of ſupport in our power to give to Britain, though it cannot immediately be entered upon. This country is moſt happily ſituated for the conſtruction of docks and the rendezvous of ſhipping; whatever expence might be incurred by ſuch neceſſary works, would be repaid by the expenditure of the money amongſt ourſelves, and might be ſupported by a prudent and œconomical management of the public revenues, in the ſavings of the army, and in every different claſs of *extraordinaries*. An expence of 17 per cent. in the collection of the revenue cannot be juſtified: The commiſſioners will now ſee that money is to be paid for labour, not for proſtitution; therefore let us now enter, heart and hand, into the great work of reformation, by giving our ſupport to that Miniſtry which has reſcued this country from oppreſſion, and will reſcue it from corruption. On this principle I ſhall move you an addreſs devoid of all that fulſome panegyric

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ſo commonly offered to Majeſty, for I think that truth will be the higheſt compliment to him. Mr. Grattan then moved,

" To aſſure his Majeſty of our unfeigned affection to his Royal Perſon and Government; that we feel moſt ſenſibly the attention which our repreſentations have received from the magnanimity of his Majeſty, and the wiſdom of the Parliament of Great Britain.

" To aſſure his Majeſty that we conceive the reſolution for an unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6th of Geo. the 1ſt to be a meaſure of conſummate wiſdom and juſtice, ſuitable to the dignity and eminence of both nations, exalting the character of both, and furniſhing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

" To aſſure his Majeſty that we are ſenſibly affected by his virtuous determination to accede to the wiſhes of his faithful people, and to exerciſe his Royal Prerogative in a manner moſt conducive to their welfare: and accordingly we ſhall immediately prepare bills to carry into execution the deſires of his Majeſty's people, and his own moſt benevolent purpoſes.

" That, gratified in thoſe particulars, we do aſſure his Majeſty, that no conſtitutional queſtion between the two nations will any longer exiſt, which can interrupt their harmony; and that Great Britain, as ſhe has approved of our firmneſs, ſo may ſhe rely on our affection.

" That we remember and do repeat our determination, to ſtand and fall with the Britiſh nation.

" That we perceive with pleaſure the magnanimity of his Majeſty to diſclaim the little policy of making a bargain with his people; and feeling with pride the confidence he repoſes in the good faith, generoſity, and honour of the Iriſh nation, we

we anſwer with all humility, that his Majeſty entertains a juſt ſenſe of our character---Common intereſt---perpetual connexion, the recent conduct of Great Britain---a native affection to the Britiſh name and nation, together with the conſtitution which we have recovered, and the high reputation which we poſſeſs, muſt ever decide the wiſhes as well as the intereſt of Ireland, to perpetuate the harmony, ſtability, and glory of the empire. Accordingly, we aſſure his Majeſty, that we learn with ſingular ſatisfaction the account of his brilliant ſucceſſes in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, gratified at one and the ſame inſtant in our deareſt wiſhes---the freedom of Ireland, and glory of Great Britain.

"That we cannot omit expreſſing our gratitude to his Majeſty, for appointing the Duke of *Portland* to the Government of this kingdom.

"That we are convinced his repreſentations were faithful, vigorous, and beneficial. We are acquainted with his character, and relying on his upright and frugal adminiſtration, make no doubt that a free people, and uncorrupt Parliament, will unite to give a conſtitutional Chief Governor decided ſupport.

"That we have preſumed to lay before his Majeſty our genuine ſentiments on the change of our ſituation. His Majeſty will receive them as the voluntary unſtipulated tribute of a free and grateful people."

Mr. Brownlow ſaid, he never got up with greater pleaſure to ſupport a motion. He could not ſuppreſs the opportunity the ſpeech offered him of expreſſing his ſenſations of gratitude at the great event which had taken place. Both nations were now one people, united by every tie, enjoying, in common, the ſame liberty, the ſame Conſtitution, and the ſame Sovereign. He had been long witneſs to ſeveral addreſſes that never conveyed truth, but the preſent addreſs

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ſpoke the ſincere language of the nation, where Proteſtant, Roman Catholic, all religions, preſſed forward with gratitude at the preſent moment. He could not but admire England's reſignation of thoſe grants, notwithſtanding her claim of power was ſo evidently ill founded; nor could he leſs admire the favour conferred on the nation, in ſending a Lord Lieutenant not governing by faction, but purſuing meaſures for the general good of the people. He hoped, he ſaid, by the moderation of all, at the preſent time, that they would evince they knew where to ſtop, and when to be ſatisfied. In reſpect to the mover of the addreſs, he declared he had too much regard for the modeſty of his friend, to ſpeak the warmth of the ſentiments he entertained of his abilities and virtue. He ſhould therefore conſtrain himſelf, and ſecond the motion.

The Recorder ſaid, he roſe to expreſs his gratitude at the preſent event. The addreſs did the mover honour, and had his concurrence in every point, but one which ſtruck him, and indeed gave him an alarm, which was the mentioning that all conſtitutional queſtions between both nations were at an end. [Here the *Speaker* being called upon read the paragraph alluded to.] He did not wiſh to particularize matters, though ſeveral occurred. If properly examined, they would find, that their very Houſe originated under an Engliſh act of Parliament, and many other caſes could be adduced, by which it would appear dangerous to cut off the future agitation of conſtitutional queſtions; and there was nothing in the ſpeech from the Throne that could call for the paragraph. The Hon. Gentleman, he ſaid, had alſo moved for a ſum of money to ſtrengthen the navy of England—he hoped part of that money would be applied to protect this kingdom from the depredations of pirates, and ſome care taken of our trade. He could ſee no occaſion for the paragraph alluded to, and it could not, conſequently, have his concurrence.

Mr.

Mr. Monſell mentioned his being preſent in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, when Mr. Yelverton's bill was propoſed to be ſent over. He thought that bill went to the removal of every doubt in reſpect to England, and would anſwer the end at which the Hon. Baronet aimed.

Mr. Flood ſaid, that a great reform muſt enſue, in conſequence of what had been done. It was true, he ſaid, nothing appeared to him, at preſent, which could diſturb the general harmony, but there were many Engliſh acts ſtill exiſting, which operated in this kingdom, and notwithſtanding the laudable acquieſcence which appeared in the renunciation of Engliſh claims, who could engage, that the preſent adminiſtration, might not, at ſome future period, change its mind? He begged the Gentlemen to conſider the language held out in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons. They aſſerted a right to external Legiſlature; and he that ſeconded the motion on the Iriſh buſineſs, did not give up that right, but as matter of convenience and compact. Even the Secretary aſſerted this right to external legiſlation, tho' he gave up that of internal. It may therefore be imagined (continued he) that you imply what they aſſerted, that they had a right to bind you. He ſaid that at a former period, he was preſent in England on the buſineſs of ſending out foreign troops. They were obliged to get an act of indemnity for ſuch a meaſure, though the Miniſter afterwards refuſed the act; and they did not ſcruple to ſay, that Ireland was not included in that proviſion. He could not ſee the neceſſity of that paragraph. They were only laying the foundation of proſperity for their country, and giving it a ſound Conſtitution. The injuries of that country have been much, and they were in the ſituation of a perſon in repairing an old houſe, who finds that by pulling down a part he muſt pull down the whole. Theſe were his parliamentary ſentiments before and after his diſmiſſal from office, and he held them

to

to be the ſentiments of the preſent Miniſtry. In a ſober moment, he would recommend, that no expreſſions ſhould be then made, which could be afterwards laid hold of to their prejudice. He thought the paragraph dangerous and begged to have it withdrawn.

Mr. Martin obſerved, that if the paragraph ſaid, "all conſtitutional diſputes which exiſted *before* this addreſs, were done away," it might be adopted with propriety. He thought the addreſs properly applicable and a production of conſummate wiſdom.

Sir Lucius O'Brien contended the addreſs did not comprehend the meaning annexed to it. The King called upon Ireland to ſtate her diſcontents. We ſtated them (ſays he) and it is our own faults if they are not all redreſſed. The King, Lords, and Commons, of Ireland only, have the power to bind us. The power uſurped by the Engliſh is given up; the King has declared his readineſs to co-operate with our wiſhes. Can we entertain a doubt, when Majeſty has led the way, and promiſed his conſent? Though the King has the power of putting a negative on your acts, no cauſe of diſcontents can in future exiſt between the Legiſlature of both nations, for this proof of the wiſdom of England is adding the ſtrength of three millions of people to the Britiſh ſtandard. Sir Lucius ſaid he would co-operate in the whole of the addreſs at that time, but would, at another opportunity, give his objections to the mode of the vote of credit, though he would agree to the principle.

Mr. Walſhe. I do not riſe for the purpoſe of giving a peeviſh oppoſition—I deſpiſe ſuch conduct, becauſe I ſhould think it both mean and unmanly. This ſhould be a duty of unanimity, and it is my wiſh to contribute to it.

But

But I cannot poſſibly agree to part of the addreſs which has been moved by my Honourable Friend, for whom I have the moſt ſincere eſteem (Mr. Grattan)—I mean thoſe words in the addreſs—*That there will no longer exiſt any conſtitutional queſtion between the two nations, that can diſturb their mutual tranquillity.* Theſe expreſſions I think too ſtrong, becauſe in my opinion, they preclude any future addreſs, if it ſhould be found that any matter had not been ſtated in the former addreſs, that required amendment or regulation. With reſpect to the repeal of the 6th of George the 1ſt, I rely on it as a lawyer, that it is inadequate to the emancipation of Ireland. The 6th of George the 1ſt is merely a declaratory law—that law declares that England has a power to make laws to bind Ireland. What then does the repeal of the 6th of George the 1ſt do with reſpect to Ireland? Simply this, and not a jot more, it expunges the declaration of the power from the Engliſh ſtatute book; but it does not deny the power hereafter to make laws to bind Ireland, whenever England ſhall think herſelf in ſufficient force for the purpoſe. I call upon the King's new Attorney General (Mr. Yelverton) as a lawyer, to riſe in his place and declare, whether the aſſumed and uſurped power of England to make laws to bind Ireland will not remain untouched and unrelinquiſhed, though the 6th of George the 1ſt ſhould be repealed: will it be contended, that the aſſumed power of Great Britain to legiſlate for us can be taken away by implication? No lawyer will ſay it can.

Then Ireland cannot be ſaid to be compleatly emancipated, until England, by an act of her own Legiſlature, unequivocally, and expreſsly declares, that ſhe has no power to make laws to bind us in any inſtance whatever. I ſay, until that is done, Ireland can never have a ſincere affection for, or a confidence in Great Britain. With reſpect to the fine-ſpun diſtinction of the Engliſh Miniſter (Mr. Fox) between internal and external legiſlation, it ſeems to me to be the

the moſt abſurd poſition, and at this time the moſt ridiculous one, that could poſſibly be laid down, when applied to an independent people. Says he, it would be downright tyranny to make laws for the internal government of a people who were not repreſented in that Parliament by which ſuch laws were made. But with reſpect to external legiſlation, this right of prerogative or ſupremacy is clearly annexed to the Britiſh Legiſlature. See then how pregnant this doctine of Mr. *Fox*'s is with every miſchief; nay, with abſolute deſtruction to this country. The Parliament of Ireland may make laws for their internal regulations; that is, he gives us leave to tax ourſelves; he permits us to take the money out of our purſes for the convenience of England. But as to *external* legiſlation, there Great Britain preſides. In any thing that relates to commerce, to exportation, there Great Britain can make laws to bind Ireland. The fair conſtruction of which is this: Ireland, you ſhall not enjoy your natural and conſtitutional rights—that of making the moſt of the produce of your land---you ſhall not ſend your goods to the beſt and moſt profitable markets. No, ſays Mr. Fox, that may interfere with the intereſt of England, that may touch the pride of the Britiſh Legiſlature. So that by this doctrine England may ſhut or open our ports at pleaſure. See then the abſurdity of our ſituation. Ireland is ſaid to have a free trade, but the key of it is in Mr. Fox's pocket. Ireland is independent, or ſhe is not: if ſhe is independent, no power on earth can make laws to bind her internally or *externally*, ſave the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland.

I therefore again repeat it, that until England unequivocally declares by an act of her own Legiſlature, that ſhe has not a power, in any inſtance, to make laws to bind Ireland, the aſſumed and uſurped power of Engliſh legiſlation over this country is not relinquiſhed. But we want not the aſ-

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ſiſtance of England to vindicate the rights of Ireland---to reſtore her to the purity of her priſtine conſtitution. We poſſeſs the power, we poſſeſs the will, and, thank God, we poſſeſs the fortitude to carry that will into execution. I thought it a duty I owed to my conſtituents, I thought it a duty I owed to myſelf, as an Iriſhman, to ſtate, in the face of my country, thoſe objections, which to me ſeem deciſive againſt that part of the addreſs, which has been moved by my Hon. Friend, (Mr. Grattan) namely, *that there will no longer exiſt any conſtitutional queſtion between the two nations, that can diſturb their mutual tranquillity.* Whether my objections are well founded or not, I will leave to more able heads than my own, and to time to decide. I ſhall therefore give my negative to that part of the addreſs.

Sir Henry Cavendiſh ſaid, he ſhould ſet the Hon. Gentleman right, for his newſpaper intelligence had led him out of the way in reſpect to Mr. Fox. He knew Mr. Fox's intentions were to make Ireland flouriſh, and then England muſt flouriſh alſo. He then read from his notes the ſentiments which Mr. Fox expreſſed in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons in the year 1774, long before the preſent diſputes exiſted. In the debate on the application of the Iriſh linen traders, Mr. Fox ſaid, that ſince the reſtoration, Ireland had been entitled to a free trade; (the firſt time, Sir Harry added, that ever I heard that expreſſion made uſe of;) and that the act of navigation did not preclude them from it. He alſo went into the right ſhe had of enjoying the woollen trade equally with England. Said that Ireland, in her own ſituation, could not go on; and if proper encouragement was not given, it would prove an equal injury to England. If they held it a maxim that Ireland ſhould be kept poor, England would in conſequence become poor alſo. Mr. Fox had not then the power of enforcing his argument, but now when he had the power, he was ſure Mr. Fox did his utmoſt to ſerve this kingdom.

Mr.

Mr. Conolly would not, he ſaid, refrain from teſtifying his gratitude. But he was ſorry to ſee, ſo early after the joy of the people, any ſeeds of future diſcontents, where none had a right to exiſt. They had aſſerted, in what might be deemed their manifeſto, that if their diſcontents were done away, they ſhould ſhare the fate of England. She owed 200 millions, and Ireland but two millions, their grant could therefore be conſidered no more than a mite to her great expence; but he thanked God that Ireland had men, and though England was exhauſted, by thus ſhaking hands with Ireland, ſhe would undoubtedly proſper. Gentlemen going down into the provinces ſhould encourage the idle to enliſt, in order to be of ſome uſe to the empire.

The Provoſt * obſerved, that the addreſs was not a common one, and if gentlemen had compared the paragraph with the antecedent parts, no ſubject of diſpute could ariſe. You tell the King (ſaid he) that no power on earth can make laws to bind us, but the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, and that you would not part with your liberties, but with your lives. Such were your words in your addreſs to the King. In the anſwer to that addreſs you were told, that England would gratify you in every wiſh, and that by the united deſires of the Parliament of England. An Honourable Gentleman has ſaid, that the claim and the principle is ſtill held alive by the Engliſh Legiſlature; but by the Lord Lieutenant's ſpeech we find that principle and claim done away, and you have not only received your eſtate, but you have alſo received the title deeds with it. In reſpect (he ſaid) to what had been ſaid about Mr. Fox, he hoped it would be the laſt time they ſhould have occaſion to advert to what had been ſaid in any other houſe. It was true, Mr. Fox ſaid he could go into the claims of England, but there remained no need of doing that; and if matters had been left to himſelf, that he would grant the Iriſh their rights by an

* J. H. Hutchinſon, Eſq.

an act of Parliament. The queſtion for binding Ireland was now for ever at an end. A gentleman, he ſaid, had mentioned Mr. Yelverton's bill; that bill was to be returned to give ſecurity to Iriſh eſtates. It had been alſo aſked, had they no right in future to agitate conſtitutional queſtions? The matter appeared to him in a different light. The addreſs only ſaid, when the preſent grievances are removed, there will be no occaſion for further diſputes on the heads of thoſe at preſent objected to---not by any means precluding the further diſcuſſion of conſtitutional queſtions. He then expatiated upon the happy ſituation of the kingdom, and recommended the adoption of moderation and unanimity.

Mr. Walter Burgh ſaid, though he felt the emotions which every Iriſhman felt on the preſent occaſion, he did not think to have ſpoken that day. He was certain, he declared, that no panegyric could add to the favours received, nor could the aſperity of diſcontent diminiſh them. He attributed the oppoſition of that day, to a laudable jealouſy for the conſtitution; but however he might admire the principle, he ſhould ſtill lament the conſequence. This oppoſition aroſe from a mere miſapprehenſion. It ſhould be remembered that the addreſs was an anſwer to the ſpeech, and not an anſwer to the proceedings of the Commons of England; and it mentioned, that when the grievances recited ſhould be removed, then all jealouſies would ceaſe. The addreſs, he ſaid, went to the entire excluſion of the internal as well as the external legiſlation of Eng'and; and meant that no conſtitutional queſtions could be afterwards between the two Legiſlatures of both nations. This did not preclude the diſcuſſion of their own conſtitutional queſtions. How was it poſſible that they could be affected by a Legiſlature which could no longer aſſume any power over them? He that voted againſt the preſent addreſs would abſolutely

aſſert,

aſſert, that England ſtill retained a power to make laws for Ireland.

The Recorder* obſerved, that if there could be no conſtitutional queſtion between the two kingdoms but what regarded legiſlation, his Right Hon. Friend's argument would be ſtrong and convincing. But he would beg leave to call his attention, and he would endeavour to ſatisfy him and the Houſe, that there might be many conſtitutional queſtions to interrupt the harmony between the two countries, in which legiſlation had no part. Had we forgotten the late ruinous embargo? For his part, as the Repreſentative of the FIRST CITY IN THE KINGDOM, he had not. Suppoſe hereafter the Parliament of England ſhould, as the great Council of the Britiſh nation, addreſs the King for an exertion of his prerogative, by laying an embargo on the trade of both his kingdoms, the Parliament of Ireland at the ſame time ſitting; would not that Parliament, competent to adviſe his Majeſty as to the affairs of IRELAND, *think its dignity invaded by the interference of the Britiſh Parliament*; and would not a *conſtitutional queſtion* be debated in this Houſe, and actually exiſt, which might interrupt the preſent harmony?

Suppoſe peace ſhould be concluded with America, and part of the terms impoſed by the Britiſh Parliament ſhould be, that the products of America ſhould be brought to the *Britiſh market only, to the excluſion of Ireland*, would not that be an *injury of the higheſt nature*; *and would not the interference of a foreign Legiſlature affecting the trade of Ireland*, deſerve to be debated within thoſe walls as a *conſtitutional queſtion?* and yet the words to be inſerted in the addreſs are ſo general and uncircumſcribed, as to preclude ſuch an idea.

Permit me to ſtate another inſtance, where this kingdom may feel itſelf injured and affected. The Legiſlatures of the two

* Sir Samuel Bradſtreet, Bart.

two kingdoms being *ſeparate* and *independent*, it will be prudent to *aſſimilate* the laws of our country to thoſe of another, that in both there may be the ſame rule in action. Now, Sir, ſuppoſe we ſhould paſs a law in conformity to one in England, and which we ſhould conſider as beneficial to this kingdom, ſo that we ſhould originate a law which England had not; and that the Britiſh Parliament not allowing us the merit of invention, *ſhould addreſs the King to refuſe his aſſent*; would not this interference create a *conſtitutional queſtion?*

Sir, the confining conſtitutional queſtions to acts of legiſlation only, is too narrow an idea. Every act of ſtate may involve a conſtitutional queſtion. There are at this hour many Britiſh acts affecting Ireland unrepealed; the act for altering the ſtyle, the poſt-office act, the act of navigation, and a multitude of others. The oaths taken this day by the Right Hon. Secretary, are under an *Engliſh act*. *You*, Sir, *ſit in that chair under an Engliſh law*. Are not theſe objects which conſtitutionally ſhould be enquired into and reformed? And can any man ſay, that the conſideration of them may not interrupt the harmony between the two kingdoms?

Sir, I highly approve of the ſpeech this day from the throne; and if the addreſs moved for according to the antient parliamentary form, applied merely to the ſpeech, it ſhould have my hearty concurrence. I do acknowledge that upon great occaſions, forms are ſuperſeded, and may be diſregarded. The preſent is a great and important moment, and ſhould not be controuled by forms; but, in introducing words in the addreſs, for which there is no foundation in his Grace's ſpeech, let us not loſe *ſight of prudence*, and in an effuſion of gratitude preclude the freedom of debating queſtions, in which we may find the *conſtitution of this country affected*.

Sir,

Sir, unanimity this day is the general wiſh. I ſincerely wiſh for it; but I lament, that I cannot, conſiſtent with my duty, agree to the words objected to, though I do to all the reſt of the propoſed addreſs. I feel the obligations we are under to his Majeſty and his adminiſtration, as ſtrong as any Gentleman in this Houſe; I am ſenſible of the great abilities of the Hon. Mover; but I wiſh he would not inſiſt on this part, as the conſequence of relinquiſhing it would be perfect unanimity.

Sir Benjamin Chapman anſwered the Recorder, that he felt equal ſurpriſe with the Hon. Baronet, on hearing the addreſs moved by his Hon. Friend, (Mr. Grattan) but it was a ſurpriſe of a very different ſort; a ſurpriſe, that an addreſs, inſtead of a ſervile echo to the ſpeech from the throne, ſhould at length be found the genuine unequivocal echo of the unanimous voice of the Iriſh nation: Not the compilation of a venal Miniſter, but the generous ſentiment of a grateful country: The language, he ſaid, of thirty-two counties, of all our gallant aſſociated corps, addreſſing their Repreſentatives. Did any one of thoſe, he aſked, ever entertain a thought, that the act regulating the oath of office, or ſtill more abſurdly, the act changing the ſtyle, mentioned by the Hon. Baronet, ſhould be enumerated a grievance? Such a ſagacity, he ſaid, would be treated with ridicule and contempt, if propoſed to them. The anſwer would be unqueſtionable. Let us be ſatisfied in the mutiny bill—in Poyning's and the Judges bill, and above all, let the 6th of George I. be repealed: thus ſecure the outlines and barrier of the Conſtitution. Let the principle be avowed and acknowledged, and every minute imperfection muſt, and will, of courſe be done away. He ſaid, if he agreed with the Hon. Gentleman, (Mr. Flood) that the clauſe objected to was uſeleſs, he ſhould concur with him in oppoſing it; but was it of no uſe, he aſked, to give repoſe to the

long agitated, and anxious public mind of the nation, or to ſtrengthen the hands of a magnanimous adminiſtration, that dared to act honeſtly by ſhewing the world, that Ireland was not ungrateful, was not inſatiable?

Mr. Burgh again ſaid, that the Engliſh Legiſlature having given up all right of binding, a cauſe of diſpute could never exiſt after. He would only remind Gentlemen in what light their oppoſition would be viewed, when the ſpeech willingly granted all they were willing to aſk? And how ignorant muſt the Engliſh think that nation, which was ſo fooliſh as not to know when to aſk, and when to be ſatisfied? He declared that he had authentic intelligence, that the enemies of England plumed themſelves on the differences between both kingdoms; and would they accede to the wiſhes of the common enemy, and decline that ſupport of England which they had promiſed to ſeal with their blood? After the Engliſh had broken through the fortreſs of ancient prejudices to ſet the Iriſh free, would they refuſe to ſay they were ſatisfied, and enjoy that freedom in peace; the nation was willing to be happy, and could they refuſe to ſeal that happineſs? He was ſatisfied himſelf in the upright intentions of the Gentlemen who oppoſed, but was certain a little reflection would convince them that they had no real cauſe for oppoſition.

Mr. Grattan thought it neceſſary that England ſhould be convinced that we were ſatisfied. It ſhould ſeem as if the Hon. Baronet was determined to oppoſe, before he knew a cauſe for oppoſition. He could not but lament, he ſaid, when he moved, on a former occaſion, for a repeal of thoſe grievances, that he had not the aſſiſtance of the Hon. Baronet; why did he not come forward with his objections then? Did he awake now? And when England granted all, was he determined to oppoſe? He could forbear comparing

his

his pliancy of diſpoſition *then*, when a Miniſter was to be thanked, to the ſtrongeſt oppoſition he gave *now*. An Hon. Gentleman ſuppoſes (continued he) that England will again aſſume this power when ſhe can find herſelf able, but that ſuppoſition muſt loſe all weight from the ſolemn ſurrender England has made of this aſſuming power. The Hon. Baronet alſo ſuppoſes, that on a peace with America, England will exclude Ireland. The ſuppoſition is equally groundleſs; but the Hon. Baronet knows, when all thoſe things are given up, no cauſe of oppoſition will any longer exiſt. He thinks this paragraph fanciful but not neceſſary. I would not wiſh to be accounted volatile or fanciful. I never was ſo fanciful as to hold any coquetry with adminiſtration. After having received liberty, we are to tell England that we are ſatisfied, and not to tell France that we are diſpleaſed.

Mr. Yelverton ſuggeſted, that if the Gentlemen would withdraw their oppoſition for the preſent, ſo as to let the motion for the addreſs, as moved by Mr. Grattan, paſs unanimouſly upon the general principle ſtated in the reſolution, yet when the addreſs ſhould be committed, if any particular expreſſion did not accord with their opinions, they would then be at liberty to oppoſe ſuch expreſſion, without incurring the charge of inconſiſtency.

Right Hon. Mr. Fitzpatrick ſaid, that he was ſorry to differ from his hon. and learned Friend who ſpoke laſt, he hoped, and was certain, that it would be the laſt time that any difference ſhould ariſe between them. It was not his intention to have taken any part in the debate, on the day when he firſt had the honour of taking his ſeat in the Houſe. But he could not but riſe to beg of thoſe Gentlemen who meant to oppoſe the addreſs, not to withdraw their oppoſition, but to perſiſt in giving their negative, and to take the ſenſe of the Houſe upon the anſwer to the ſpeech.

If the ſpeech, worded as it was, and going to the points contained in it, did not give ſatisfaction, he ſhould regret the day he ever ſet his foot in that Houſe. If there were Gentlemen who were not ſatisfied, he begged they would not think of concealing that diſſatisfaction, in order to ſuffer the queſtion of that day to aſſume an appearance of unanimity; ſuch an unanimity would be falſe and deceitful, and could only tend to lead the Legiſlature of England into a dangerous and fatal error. The wiſh of adminiſtration was to collect the ſenſe of the people of Ireland; they had called upon the Parliament of Ireland to declare their grievances; on the ſtatement of theſe grievances, the ſpeech of the Lord Lieutenant had given the moſt ſolemn and authoritative aſſurances, that not only their repreſentations ſhould be attended to, but that every wiſh they had expreſſed in their late addreſſes ſhould be gratified—He wiſhed, therefore, to know whether Gentlemen were perfectly ſatisfied with the ſpeech---There muſt be an *Ultimatum* to promote and perpetuate the harmony between the two countries, and if the addreſs did not contain that *Ultimatum*, he looked upon the final adjuſtment between the two countries as beyond his hopes, and in that ſenſe it was, that he ſhould regret ever to have ſet his foot within that Houſe.

Sir H. Langriſhe ſaid, if I did not know and feel that I was actuated by as free and decided ſentiments concerning the conſtitutional rights of Ireland as any man---if I could not appeal to a conduct conformable to ſuch ſentiments---a conduct ſtrictly purſued by myſelf and my brethren in the *humble* but very critical ſituation in which we are placed, and in very doubtful and dangerous times---if I were not ſo circumſtanced, I ſhould not ariſe to addreſs you this day, or take a part in the high deliberations of the preſent occaſion.

But under ſuch a conſciouſneſs, and with ſuch a teſtimony, I may preſume (in common with other Gentlemen) to join my

my congratulations with my country on the *reſtitution of her rights*, and to offer my acknowledgments to the liberality and wiſdom which has *thus reſtored* them. And, indeed, Sir, whilſt we are enraptured at the acquiſition of liberty, as of the greateſt bleſſing of life---*endeared* by a long *abſence*, and *acquired* by great *virtue*, it would be *inſenſibility* not to *feel*, and ingratitude not to commemorate the *manner* in which it has been conceded---ſo *entire*, ſo *unconditionally*, ſo *affectionate*, ſo *deciſive*, as muſt from this day, during our exiſtence as an empire, put an end to all jealouſies and contentions between the two countries, except *that* contention only which will hereafter for ever ſubſiſt—a contention in good offices—an emulation in reciprocal ſupport and aſſiſtance, alike in peace and in war—in proſperity and adverſity; and being convinced that when this great compact ſhall be ratified, to uſe the words of my hon. friend's addreſs, when we ſhall be gratified in theſe conceſſions, "No conſtitutional queſtion between the two countries will exiſt to interrupt the harmony between them," it is impoſſible for me to agree in the objection made to this paragraph of the addreſs. The King and the Parliament of England agree to comply with every thing you aſk—this addreſs ſays, when every thing we have aſked ſhall be complied with, "no conſtitutional queſtion between the two countries will exiſt, to interrupt the harmony between them." Can any man alive deny that? And if that be true, which it muſt be, why ſhould we not ſay ſo? Is it not our duty to ſay ſo? Should we not be imperfect and unpardonable to omit it?

It is but common juſtice to obſerve, during the courſe of this great buſineſs, that the wiſe counſels that *guided* and *accompliſhed* it, have not been actuated by the impulſe of the occaſion, or ſuggeſtions of the moment. They have not made *liberty* a *meaſure*, or *juſtice* an *expedient*. They have proceeded on the *general*, *enlarged*, and *decided* ſyſtem—with

that *perfect principle* which reſpects the rights of *mankind*, and with that affection which regards the intereſts of a *ſiſter country*.

We have lived to hear a Miniſter tell the Britiſh Parliament, "That it acquired *dignity*, not *degradation*, by relinquiſhing a power which was not founded in juſtice—and that equal freedom is the only bond that can unite the different parts of the empire." Magnificent ſentiments! and we have ſeen the Britiſh nation *reflect* theſe ſentiments *back* on the Miniſter; and the people of England become *unanimous* in the cauſe of Ireland.

That great and generous people, when once the errors of old and ignorant prejudices were examined and removed, inſtantly felt their hearts glow with kindred affection towards us. They admired the temperate *magnanimity* with which we claimed our rights—and we cannot but admire and remember the *cordiality* with which they reſtored them—we have lived to ſee almoſt the romances of our political wiſhes realized and accompliſhed—a Sovereign founding his dominion in the affections of a free people—an adminiſtration the free advocates of conſtitution, maintaining authority by the *influence* alone of *public benefits*, and the different parts of the empire uniting and conſolidating, not by the hand of power, which is *impotence*, but by the everlaſting bonds of *common intereſt*, of *common affection*, of *common conſtitution*, of *common liberty*. He apologized for having taken up the time of the Houſe; that what he had ſaid was forced on him by feelings, ſuperior to an influence; that this was not a ſeaſon for *influence*; the heart of every Iriſhman is too proud to ſubmit to it; but it was not eaſy for any Gentleman accuſtomed to deliver his ſentiments, to ſit ſilent on the preſent occaſion, nor for any man to conſider the relative ſituation of Ireland, without feeling ſomething like an enthuſiaſm

of

of happineſs: that ſuch were his feelings, which he hoped would plead his excuſe for having treſpaſſed on the patience of the Houſe.

Mr. Walſh ſaid, that upon hearing ſuch language delivered in ſuch a manner by what is called the Iriſh Miniſter, he was determined to divide the Houſe; it was not, he ſaid, language fit to be delivered in an Iriſh Senate Houſe.

Sir Edward Newenham congratulated his country on her glorious and full emancipation from the uſurped dominion of any foreign Legiſlature. He would vote, as he always did, agreeable to the inſtructions and wiſhes of thoſe whom he had the honour to repreſent; their wiſh was a free conſtitution, and conſequently, thanks of the warmeſt gratitude were due to the patriotic adminiſtration who ſupported the rights of Ireland. He obſerved, that three months ago he would, in order to obtain thoſe great national points, have agreed to any addreſs, ſhould it even have been drawn by one of the old hackneyed ſlaves of quondam adminiſtrations; but now the addreſs was offered to their conſideration, by the Hibernian patriot, and no man could doubt of the purity of his intentions; he could not wiſh to miſlead his grateful countrymen.

Mr. Ponſonby, jun. ſaid, he wiſhed the Gentlemen would divide, that there might be ſeen, perhaps, three men ſtanding againſt 250. He wiſhed to let the people of Dublin ſee the difference of their repreſentatives.—(Here he was interrupted by the Recorder, who ſaid that he did not fear to let his conſtituents ſee him acting to the beſt of his judgment, and watching with anxious jealouſy the liberties of his country); and Mr. Walſh ſaid, that he had ever acted STEADILY for the intereſt of his conſtituents; no man could accuſe him of *whiſking round* to every adminiſtration. He acted

upon conſtitutional principles, as an honeſt Senator ought to do; and though his fortune was not the largeſt in the Houſe, yet it was ſufficient to render him independent of any Miniſter; it was the patrimony of a reſpectable family, which had enjoyed it 700 years; and which was longer by above 600 years than any property at all had been in the family of the gentleman that had ſo loudly urged him to divide.

Mr. Fitzpatrick roſe to apologize, he ſaid, if he had fallen into an error, or broke through the orders of the Houſe. (No, no, was re-echoed from all ſides.) His being a ſtranger in this country, though he originated from it, and equally a ſtranger to that Houſe, perhaps, would plead an excuſe if he had tranſgreſſed. He roſe, he ſaid, with an anxious deſire to know the ſentiments of the Houſe and ſee all matters ſettled. The warmth he had betrayed, if he had betrayed any warmth, muſt be aſcribed to that motive ſolely, and he hoped for that motive it would be forgiven. He was anxious to know the ultimatum of their expectations, he was anxious to know the real ſenſe of the Houſe, that wrong information might not be ſent to the other ſide of the water. This was the moment to come to a deciſion. But as one gentleman had declared that he did not hold himſelf pledged by the addreſs of that day, perhaps many other Gentlemen of that Houſe who had not delivered their ſentiments, might conſider themſelves in the ſame ſituation. He therefore requeſted the Hon. Gentleman would keep his word, ſince the expectations of the nation could not be known without a diviſion, and that diviſion would reduce the matter to a certainty.

Mr. Bagenal ſaid, he was not ſurpriſed to ſee his learned friend (Mr. Walſh) a little alarmed at the manner in which the Miniſter ſpoke; it was plain ſpeaking, and plain ſpeaking from a Miniſter was a thing ſo very unuſual, that it was really

really alarming. He had sat in Parliament five and twenty years, and never heard such plain and honest speaking by a Minister; for which reason, and many others, the address should have his support.

Mr. Ogle, after pronouncing an elegant panegyric on the public and private virtues of his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, and paying the like tribute to those of Mr. Grattan, said, that honourable measures should be supported by honourable men, and moved an address of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant, which passed unanimously.

Mr. Gorges Lowther said he had an opportunity of seeing more Lord Lieutenants' speeches delivered at this table than any other Gentleman in this House; he had seen bad Lord Lieutenants, indifferent Lord Lieutenants, and but few good; he never expected to have seen such a Lord Lieutenant sent to us as the present, with full power to do every thing for the good of Ireland; he has saved us from slavery and arbitrary power. He was really surprised to hear one dissenting vote to this motion; have we not got all we desired? He hoped one or two negatives would be of little signification, (if they should persist) in comparison to more than two hundred, and he most heartily concurred with the Hon. Gentleman who made the motion, in every particular of it, as a sincere friend to his country.

The House divided upon the words objected to by the Recorder.

Ayes for the Address - 211

Noes, the two Tellers, the Recorder and Mr. Walsh.

Mr. Bagenal. I will beg leave to congratulate this country. We have at last got the freedom which all the world should have—it is our birth-right; but in our meridian there

there is no life without it—our exiſtence now begins, and will depend upon what uſe we make of the population and wealth that will reſult from the advantages of a free conſtitution.

I will beg leave to congratulate England: inſtead of a nominal or a repugnant dependent, ſhe has now a powerful, faithful ally, one that ſhe can never exiſt without.

I will beg leave to congratulate his Majeſty: he has conciliated three millions of ſuch ſubjects as muſt make him happy---men willing to be loyal, as they are determined to be free.

I will congratulate his Miniſters alſo: they may now depend upon ſuch ſupport as they ought always to look for. And to whom does the empire owe all this? To a man, principally, who is reſolved to take no reward from Government. I will not pretend to ſay he was wrong, though I know that ſuch merit ought to be diſtinguiſhed in every manner poſſible. Shall every body have what they ought to have, except him alone, to whom every individual in this empire is ſo much indebted, and by whoſe example every individual in the univerſe may be ſo much benefited? He has ſaved this empire from an iron age, and has reſtored an unequivocal golden one. By our affectionate alliance with England, we ſhall not only be benefited ourſelves, but ſhall ſee a beloved ſiſter revive, without any painful repining, or apprehenſions for her proſperity.

In theſe happy circumſtances in which he has placed us (tho' I honour every *private* compliment as I may call thoſe that I ſee paid to our illuſtrious benefactor) I believe there is no man that would not bluſh to think a Grattan's child might point at a ſtatue, or monument, that has often been dedicated to ſlender or problematical merit, and ſay, that was my

my father's, your benefactor's only reward. I have therefore a motion to make you, which might appear like presumption in me, as it is of so much importance to the glory and interests of this kingdom, if I could suppose that any Member of the British empire could give it a negative; the support of it is, that we should take into consideration what sum we should grant for the purpose of purchasing a seat, and building a suitable mansion for our great benefactor, in testimony of our gratitude for the unequalled services that he has done for this kingdom. Were we to omit this, or should we do it in a manner unsuitable to the situation he has raised us to, we should be very ungrateful indeed, and never might we expect that a blessing could attend it.

It must be needless to say any thing in favour of such a measure, or I would not dare to be the mover of it. I will only add, that as he has left nothing undone that is material to the prosperity of this kingdom, it can no more lay a precedent for hurtful grants of the same nature here, than Blenheim did in Great Britain.

Far be it from me to compare even the services of Marlborough to those for which we stand indebted; we have no deductions to make from our gratitude---without protracting, or any public expence, his efforts have been timed and conducted with so much wisdom, and the appearance of such a being on earth was so essential to the establishment of liberty at this most critical juncture, that without superstition, men may well record him amongst the most propitious interpositions of heaven.

He has crowned his work, and under his auspices the throne of freedom is fixed on so certain a basis, and will probably be always so well supported by the due influence the public are likely to acquire under his system, that with the

the bleſſing of God there is no danger of Parliament itſelf ever being able to ſhake it; nor ſhall Parliament, I truſt, ever again be profanely ſtiled omnipotent. I am conſcious I muſt have anticipated men infinitely better qualified to bring ſuch a meaſure forward; one excuſe I have, for it is not the impatient wiſh that every body muſt have to ſee ſuch a character exalted—nor any little vanity to diſtinguiſh myſelf—but as I never had any private acquaintance, nor private converſation with our great benefactor, I thought it might come as well from one from whom he could have any item, as from the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonage that he is intimate with.

Virtue, to be ſure, is its own reward, and we know that our generous benefactor is *in* his *own ſphere of happineſs, content*—But ſhall we be content without doing our duty? Shall we be ungrateful? God forbid.

Gratitude ſeems to be a virtue peculiarly adapted to nations that have received ſuch benefits as ours—It is often neglected by individuals, becauſe it is often out of their power to be as grateful as they wiſh; we, I truſt, ſhall never have ſuch another opportunity of exerciſing ours—God forbid we ſhould let it ſlip.

To-morrow, after the grant to his Majeſty is ſettled, and after a proper thankſgiving is offered to Heaven, for the happy recovery of our rights, I will move, "That this Houſe do reſolve itſelf into a committee, to take into conſideration what ſum we ſhould grant for the purchaſing an eſtate, and building a ſuitable manſion for our illuſtrious benefactor, Henry Grattan, Eſq; and his heirs for ever, in teſtimony of our gratitude for the unequalled ſervice that he has done for the kingdom of Ireland."

CHAP.

CHAPTER XII.

Grant for raiſing 20,000 *Seamen.—Declaration of the Volunteers of Ulſter and Connaught.—Addreſs to his Majeſty.—Parliamentary proceedings reſpecting a National Bank.—Bills introduced for further relief of Roman Catholics.—Debates thereon.—Habeas Corpus Act.—Proceedings and Debates concerning other public acts paſſed in* 1782.—*General Obſervations.*

THE nation thus gratified with an acknowledgment of its Legiſlative Independence, a ſum of 100,000l. was voted to be applied towards raiſing 20,000 ſeamen for his Majeſty's fleet; and a ſum of 50,000l. was likewiſe granted to *Henry Grattan*, Eſq. for his faithful and patriotic ſervices.

The kingdom in general ſeemed now to entertain a high ſenſe of the liberality of Great Britain, and the following addreſs from the Committees of Ulſter and Connaught to the *Volunteers* of thoſe Provinces, was publiſhed on this occaſion:

"*Friends, Freemen, and Fellow-Soldiers,*

"We have ſuſpended all obſervations on public affairs, until we ſhould receive that authentic information from our Legiſlature on which we ſhould ground our proceedings. Appointed by the Volunteers of our reſpective Provinces to ſuperintend the great cauſe in which we were engaged, we have been watchful ſpectators of its progreſs, and have waited,

waited, in ſilent expectation, for the fate of thoſe demands of juſtice, which our Parliament, echoing the voice of the nation, had carried to the foot of the Throne. We can now congratulate our fellow-ſoldiers on the full completion of their wiſhes. The all-bountiful Providence, whoſe omnipotent hand guides the fate of nations, has led this country on to glory; the people of Ireland, with the ſteady dignified moderation of conſcious rectitude, have boldly vindicated their rights; and the magnanimity of Britain, forgetting all ancient prejudices, has obliterated every ſource of jealouſy, by an act of ample and unequivocal juſtice. Let us bow down with gratitude to that Providence, whoſe divine protection has led us through the paths of peace to the ſummit of ſucceſs; let us cheriſh that ſpirit in ourſelves which has been the inſtrument of our deliverance; let us embrace our ſiſter kingdom with renovated affection, and evince, that freedom is the ſtrongeſt cement of union and liberality is the firmeſt baſis of power.

The diſtinction between Engliſhmen and Iriſhmen is no more; we are now one people; we have but one intereſt, one cauſe, one enemy, one friend, and we truſt that the conduct of the Iriſh nation will demonſtrate to all mankind, that the ſame ſpirit which graſps at liberty and ſpurns at uſurpation, is equally alive to the impreſſions of friendſhip, of kindneſs, and of generoſity. Let this auſpicious æra, which at once reſtores us to the poſſeſſion of our Conſtitution, and to the arms of our magnanimous ſiſter, be ever recorded in the annals of this country; and let the glory which ſurrounds it diffuſe its light to illuminate ſucceeding ages; let ſtructures ariſe to commemorate the tranſactions of this eventful period, and to hold up an example to ſtimulate poſterity to an emulation of the virtues of their anceſtors, and religiouſly to preſerve the ſacred truſt tranſmitted to them inviolate and uncontaminated; let the whole nation

pour

pour in the voluntary tribute of its feelings, that every man who assisted in the attainment of the object may have the gratification of contributing to the measure which is to record it, and that as the cause is national, so should the monument.

Amidst these effusions of public exultation; amidst these records of the glorious events of this memorable æra; while we pay every testimony of heart-felt gratitude to those ever-to-be-honoured Senators, who, superior to all temptation, have boldly stood forth in vindicating the rights of their country; while we offer every tribute of particular veneration to the illustrious leader of the Volunteers of Ireland, the *Earl of Charlemont*, we should be wanting to our own feelings, to our sense of justice, and to what we are convinced is the unanimous sense of the nation, did we not hold up that great and exalted character, *Henry Grattan*, as the object of peculiar commemoration and distinguished national reward. It was the capacious genius of that honor to his country and mankind, which first conceived the practicability of rescuing his native land from oppression; it was the power of his splendid abilities which rouzed the public mind, and called forth all the talents and all the virtue in the nation to his aid; it was his perseverance which, with such an aid, irresistibly bore down all opposition to the Parliamentary declaration, and the British recognition of our Constitution. Services like these are so blended with, and form so leading a feature in the history of the times, that one cannot be commemorated without the other, nor can any monument record the effect without distinguishing the cause. But we should not stop here; the Duke of Marlborough received Blenheim from the British nation, as a tribute of gratitude for his military success; bnt as much as liberty is more valuable than conquest, so are the services of a *Grattan* superior to those of a *Marlborough*; and we trust

truſt the characteriſtic generoſity of the Iriſh will not be inferior to that of Britain, in proportion to her ability. The reward to the individual is united to the political encouragement held out to public virtue, and if a nation ſhould err in its retribution for diſtinguiſhed ſervices, its error ſhould ever be on the ſide of liberality.

Impreſſed with theſe opinions, we did intend to recommend it to your conſideration, to apply in your capacity as freeholders to the Sheriffs of your reſpective counties, to convene public meetings, for the purpoſe of inſtructing your Repreſentatives in Parliament, to confer an adequate, national reward on that truly deſerving character; but finding the ſubject was laſt night mentioned in the Houſe of Commons by a very reſpectable Member, and is ſoon to be taken under Parliamentary conſideration, we have only to expreſs our wiſh, that every county in the kingdom may be convened to ſanction, by their approbation, the conduct of their Repreſentatives on this occaſion, and evince, that it is equally the deſire of the people and the Legiſlature.

"While we felicitate you on the glorious proſpects which now begin to open in this country; while we view with wonder and exultation the tide of good fortune which poured in at once upon the Iriſh nation and the empire at large, we cannot but particularly intreat you not to relax your military diſcipline; we have now a Conſtitution as well as property to defend againſt the common enemy; let us remember too, that there is a public ſpirit and a high ſenſe of honour annexed to the Volunteer Inſtitution, which we have found the great ſupport and incentive to national virtue; and which, having already made corruption ſink before it, can alone prevent its riſing again into exiſtence.

"The late happy change in his Majeſty's meaſures and Miniſters in Ireland, as well as Great Britain, ſeems the harbinger

harbinger of prosperity and indissoluble union to both kingdoms; and we trust, that gratified in all those particulars mentioned in the late addresses of our Parliament, the people of this country will (as well as the Legislature) assure his Majesty, that while England adheres to the principle manifested in her present conduct, no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony; and that we will shew our sister kingdom and the world, that a government founded on the broad basis of liberty, of purity, and public opinion, will stand unshaken upon the support of the nation, and rise superior to all the arts of corruption. Dublin, May 28, 1782.

For Ulster.	*For Connaught.*
"MERVYN ARCHDALL	"JOHN GEOGHEGAN
"FRANCIS DOBBS	"LEWIS FR. IRVINE
"JOSEPH POLLOCK.	"NEAL O'DONEL."

The following address to his Majesty was likewise agreed to:

"To the KING's most Excellent Majesty, the humble Address of the Volunteers of Ulster.

"*Most gracious Sovereign,*

"With the most unfeigned attachment to your Majesty's person and family, we approach your throne. You are our true and lawful Sovereign; and we trust that every act of ours will evince, that we are your faithful and loyal subjects.

"The addresses of the Irish Parliament having disclaimed any power or authority, of any sort whatsoever, in the Parliament of Great Britain over this realm, we shall consider an unqualified and unconditional repeal of the statute of the sixth of George the First, by the British Parliament, made

in purſuance of the ſaid addreſſes, a compleat renunciation of a principle hoſtile to the rights of Ireland, and of all the claims contained in the ſaid ſtatute; and as ſuch we will accept it and deem it ſatisfactory. Thus united by the ſacred bond of freedom, we requeſt our gracious Sovereign to aſſure our ſiſter kingdom, that we will be ſharers in her fate, ſtanding or falling with the Britiſh empire.

"We humbly beg leave to expreſs our gratitude for the appointment of his Grace the Duke of Portland to the government of Ireland. Prevented by ſituation from enjoying the preſence of our benevolent Sovereign, we rejoice in a Viceroy, whoſe character aſſures us that he will faithfully diſcharge the duties of his ſtation.

"The œconomy and retrenchment which your Majeſty has been graciouſly pleaſed both to recommend and practiſe, will, we humbly hope, be extended to Ireland. Should a more equal repreſentation of the people be alſo adopted, our proſperity would be for ever ſecured, and your Majeſty's reign moſt honourably diſtinguiſhed in the annals of mankind.

"We rejoice in the great and ſignal ſucceſs of your Majeſty's arms: every enemy muſt yield to the efforts of a great, a brave, a free, and an united people. Your Majeſty's choice of thoſe whom you have entruſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs gives us the moſt heart-felt ſatisfaction; public confidence is revived; and we doubt not but your Majeſty's crown and empire will ſpeedily be raiſed to the higheſt pinnacle of human glory.

"We have ever beheld with admiration your Majeſty's domeſtic virtues. May your Majeſty, and the truly great and amiable partner of your throne, long, long live to bleſs each other: may the offſpring of your happy union reward your paternal fondneſs, by a diſplay of every grace and every

every virtue: and when, at length, the immutable law of nature ſhall demand that tribute, which even Kings muſt pay, may your mourning ſubjects with one voice lament, that the great, the benevolent father of his people is no more.

"WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.
"JAMES DAWSON, Secretary."

* * * * *

The *Britiſh Parliament* now proceeded to repeal the Engliſh ſtatute of the 6th of Geo. 1ſt. This act, commonly called the *Declaratory Act*, was entitled, "*An Act for the better ſecuring the* dependency *of the kingdom of* Ireland *upon the Crown of* Great Britain," and paſſed in the following words:

"Whereas the Houſe of Lords of Ireland have of late, "againſt law, aſſumed to themſelves a power and juriſdic- "tion to examine, correct and amend the judgments and "decrees of the Courts of Juſtice in the kingdom of Ire- "land; therefore, for the better ſecuring of the dependency "of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, may it pleaſe "your moſt excellent Majeſty, that it may be declared, and "be it declared by the King's moſt excellent Majeſty, by "and with the advice and conſent of the Lords ſpiritual "and temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament "aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame: That the "ſaid kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought "to be, ſubordinate and dependent upon the Imperial "Crown of Great Britain, as being inſeparably united and "annexed thereunto: and that the King's Majeſty, by and "with the advice and conſent of the Lords ſpiritual and "temporal, and Commons of Great-britain in parliament aſ- "ſembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power "and authority to make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient force

" and validity to bind the kingdom and people of Ire-
" land.

" And be it further declared and enacted by the authority
" aforesaid, that the House of Lords of Ireland have not,
" nor of right ought to have any jurisdiction to judge of,
" affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence or decree given
" in any Court within the said kingdom; and that all pro-
" ceedings before the said House of Lords upon any such
" judgment, sentence or decree are, and are hereby declared
" to be utterly null and void to all intents and purposes
" whatsoever."

The statute by which this act was repealed, runs thus:
" Whereas an act was passed in the 6th year of the reign of
" his late Majesty King George the First, entitled, *An Act*
" *for the better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland*
" *upon the Crown of Great Britain*, may it please your most
" excellent Majesty that it be enacted, and be it enacted by
" the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice
" and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and
" Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by
" the authority of the same, that from and after the passing
" of this act, the above-mentioned act, and the several mat-
" ters and things therein contained, shall be, and is and are
" hereby repealed."

It was the opinion of several men, of eminent abilities, in the Parliament of Ireland, that this *simple repeal* of the Declaratory Act, did not effectually renounce the claims of Great Britain, or sufficiently secure our Legislative Rights. This point was warmly debated, but as the alledged insufficiency of that proceeding is now done away, we shall not enter into a detail of the arguments made use of on that subject: the reader may find them fully stated in the *Parliamentary Register, Vol. I.* We shall, however, mention some

ſome circumſtances which immediately gave riſe to the *Declaratory* ſtatute, and ſhew how far the principles of it were combated in this kingdom, at a more early period.

In 1698, a moſt unjuſtifiable attack was made on the judicial privilege of the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, by the following order of the Houſe of Lords in England:

Die Martis, 24th Maij, 1698.

"Whereas a petition and appeal was offered to the Houſe on the 7th of January laſt, of the ſociety of the governor and aſſiſtants of London, of the new plantation in Ulſter, in the kingdom of Ireland, againſt a judgment given by the Lords ſpiritual and temporal of Ireland in Parliament there aſſembled, on the 24th day of September laſt, upon the petition and appeal of William, Lord Biſhop of Derry, againſt the decree or order made in the ſaid cauſe in the Court of Chancery there: whereupon a committee was appointed, to conſider of the proper method of appealing from the decrees made in the Court of Chancery in Ireland, and that purſuant to the order of the ſaid committee, and a letter ſent to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, by order of this Houſe, ſeveral precedents have been tranſmitted by the Lords Juſtices to this Houſe, copies whereof were ordered to be delivered to either ſide: after hearing counſel upon the petition of the ſociety of London, preſented to this Houſe the 20th of April laſt, praying that they might be heard, as to the juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords in Ireland, in receiving and judging appeals from the Chancery there, as alſo counſel for the Biſhop of Derry: after due conſideration of the precedents, and of what was offered by counſel thereupon; it is this day ordered, adjudged and declared, by the Lords ſpiritual and temporal in Parliament aſſembled, that the ſaid appeal by the Biſhop of Derry, to the Houſe of Lords in Ireland, from the decree or order of the Court of Chancery there made, in

the cauſe wherein the ſaid Biſhop of Derry was plaintiff, and the ſaid ſociety of the governors and aſſiſtants of London, of the new plantation in Ulſter, in Ireland, were defendants, was *coram non judice*, and that all the proceedings thereupon are null and void; and, that the Court of Chancery in Ireland ought to proceed in the ſaid cauſe, as if no ſuch appeal had been made to the Houſe of Lords there; and if either of the ſaid parties do find themſelves aggrieved by the ſaid decree or order of Chancery, they are at liberty to purſue their proper remedy by way of appeal to this Houſe.

Ordered, That the Lord Chancellor do write to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, and ſend them this order.

The Lords of Ireland proteſted againſt this proceeding, and afterwards on the 12th of Feb. 1703, they made the following order:

Whereas upon hearing the complaint of the Right Hon. Edward, Earl of Meath, and Cecilia, Counteſs of Meath, his wife, exhibited to this Houſe on the 19th of October laſt, it has appeared upon full proof, that they have been illegally diſpoſſeſſed of the lands of part of Rocheſtown, Corruta, Loughloughery, Keating, &c. all lying and being in the county of Tipperary, the actual poſſeſſion whereof was given them, purſuant to an order of this Houſe, dated the 29th of October 1695: We the Lords ſpiritual and temporal in Parliament aſſembled, this 12th day of Feb. 1703, do order, require, and command the Sheriff of the ſaid county of Tipperary, for the time being, forthwith to put the ſaid Earl and Counteſs of Meath in the actual, quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of all the aforeſaid lands and premiſſes, as he will anſwer the contrary at his peril.

From this period until the year 1717, we find the Houſe of Lords of Great Britain did not attempt to interfere with the

the rights and privileges of the Lords and people of this kingdom.

But about the year 1717, that Houſe thought proper once more to endeavour the eſtabliſhment of their uſurped authority, and accordingly entertained an appeal from Maurice Anneſly, Eſq. againſt a deciſion of the Lords of Ireland, reverſed their decree, and ordered the Sheriff of the county of Kildare to reſtore to Mr. Anneſley the poſſeſſion of certain lands, of which he had been diſpoſſeſſed by the order of the Iriſh Lords.

And to enforce this order, the Britiſh Lords had recourſe to the authority of the Barons of the Court of Exchequer here, who ordered the Sheriff of Kildare to reſtore Mr. Anneſley to the poſſeſſion of his lands, according to the order of the Lords of Great Britain.

The Sheriff (Alexander Burrowes, Eſq.) ſpiritedly refuſed obedience to this illegal order: the Barons endeavoured to enforce it by the impoſition of heavy fines; whereupon he petitioned the Iriſh Lords for relief, which having been referred to a committee of the Houſe, they, on the 28th July, 1719, made the following report, and entered into the following reſolutions and proceedings.*

On the 17th of October, 1719, the Houſe proceeded on the order of the day, for reading the repreſentation to his Majeſty of the proceedings of the Houſe upon the petition of Alexander Burrowes, Eſq. in the cauſe of Sherlock and Anneſley.

And the ſaid repreſentation was read, and agreed to by the Houſe, and is as follows, viz.:

* Lords Journals, Vol. II.

"*To the King's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.*

"The humble repreſentation of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

"*Moſt gracious Sovereign,*

"It is with the greateſt concern that we, your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal in Parliament aſſembled, do find ourſelves under a neceſſity of making this our humble repreſentation to your Majeſty.

"It evidently appears, by many ancient records, and ſundry acts of Parliament paſſed in this kingdom, and particularly by one in the 11th of Queen Elizabeth, entitled, "An act for attainder of Shane O'Neil, &c." that the Kings, with all the Princes and men of value of the land, did, of their own good wills, and without any war or chivalry, ſubmit themſelves to your Majeſty's royal anceſtor, King Henry II. took oaths of fidelity to him, and became his liege ſubjects, who (as it is aſſerted by the Lord Chief Juſtice Coke and others*) did ordain and command, at the inſtance of the Iriſh, that "ſuch laws as he had in England, ſhould be of force and obſerved in Ireland." By this agreement the people of Ireland obtained the benefit of the Engliſh laws, and many privileges, particularly that of having a diſtinct Parliament here, as in England, † and of having weighty and momentous matters, relating to this kingdom, treated of, diſcuſſed and determined in the ſaid Parliament.

This conceſſion and compact thus made, and afterwards, by ſucceeding Kings, confirmed to the people of this land, in proceſs of time, proved a great encouragement to many of the Engliſh to come over and ſettle themſelves in Ireland, where they were to enjoy the ſame laws and liberties, and live

* Coke, 4th Inſt. p. 349. Matt. Paris, anno 1172, p. 105.—† Ib. 350.

live under the like conſtitution as they had formerly done in the kingdom of England* ; which, through God's good providence, has proved a means of ſecuring this kingdom to the Crown of England, and we truſt will do ſo to all futurity. By this happy conſtitution, and theſe privileges by us for ſo many years enjoyed, the Engliſh ſubjects of this kingdom have beeh enabled faithfully to diſcharge their duty to the Crown of England, and vigorouſly ſet themſelves, upon all occaſions, to aſſert the rights thereof, againſt all the rebellions which have been raiſed by the Iriſh enemies. And therefore, we, your Majeſty's loyal ſubjects, do, with all ſubmiſſion to your Majeſty, *inſiſt* upon them, and hope, through your Majeſty's goodneſs, to have them preſerved inviolable.

" And we beg leave to repreſent to your Majeſty, that though the imperial crown of this realm was formerly inſeparably annexed to the imperial crown of England, and is now to that of Great Britain,† yet this kingdom being of itſelf a diſtinct dominion, and no part of the kingdom of England, none can determine concerning the affairs thereof, unleſs authorized thereto, by the known laws and cuſtoms of this kingdom, or by the expreſs conſent of the King.‡

" And as your royal anceſtors have always enjoyed the right and power of determining all matters that related only to this kingdom, by their royal authority, in their Parliaments held here, ſo we humbly hope your Majeſty will always look on this right as a moſt valuable jewel of your crown, which none ſhould preſume to touch without your Majeſty's conſent ; and that your Majeſty will graciouſly allow us to repreſent it, as an invaſion of your prerogative, and a grievance to your loyal ſubjects in this kingdom, that any

* Pryn, on 4th Inſt. p. 287. Anno 31 Ed. III.

† Anno 2 Eliz. p. 214, c. 5. c. 7. p. 218.

‡ Coke, 4th Inſt. p. 350.

any court of judicature ſhould take upon them to declare, that your Majeſty cannot determine all controverſies between your ſubjects of this kingdom, and about matters relating wholly to the ſame, by your royal authority, in your Parliament ſummoned to meet here, or that your ſubjects of Ireland appealing to your Majeſty in your Parliament in Ireland, in matters wholly relating to this kingdom, do bring their cauſe before an incompetent judicature.

"We have (may it pleaſe your ſacred Majeſty) endeavoured with our utmoſt care, to enquire into the grounds of all ſuch appeals or removals of cauſes from this kingdom, as have at any time been made into England, and are perſuaded that ſuch uſages have been introduced by ſlow degrees, at firſt the Judges here being to determine the cauſes that came before them by the common laws of England, and ſometimes not knowing well the uſages there, applied to Henry III.* their then King, for information, who gave them an account what the common law and cuſtom of England in like caſes was, and this undoubtedly by the advice of the Juſtices of the King's Bench, who then were obliged to attend the King wherever he ſhould be †; and in proceſs of time, when his ſucceſſors had ſettled the Court of King's Bench after another manner, and had forborne to ſit there themſelves in perſon, the application which formerly uſed to be made to the King who preſided in that Court, came of courſe to be brought before the Juſtices of the Court, although the King was not there perſonally preſent. And this, as we conceive, gave riſe to that cuſtom of removing cauſes, by writs of error, from the King's Bench in Ireland to the King's Bench in England; but from hence to infer, that therefore appeals from the Parliament of Ireland may be brought before the Houſe of Peers in England or Great Britain,

* 14th Henry III. ſtat. Hibern. made at Weſtminſter.—† 28th Ed. I. c. 5.

Britain, is a conſequence for which there appears to be no manner of ground.

" As for the practice of appealing from the High Court of Chancery in Ireland to the Lords of Great Britain, we can find but two precedents of ſuch appeals before the late happy Revolution, one in 1670, and the other in 1679; and we can account for them no otherwiſe than by obſerving, that they happened at a juncture when no oppoſition could be given them from this kingdom, becauſe through the prevalency of a Popiſh intereſt, no Parliament had been held here for ſome years before, nor were we then in any likelihood of having any called here for many years to come; nor can we find, that any like ſubſequent appeals from that Court have any other foundation than thoſe two precedents.

" And ſuch appeals (though they had been of longer ſtanding, and better founded) yet were never ſuppoſed to preclude the King's Majeſty from his right of giving redreſs to his ſubjects of Ireland in his Parliament, when aſſembled here, any more than writs of error to the King's Bench in England had hindered the like writs from being returnable in the Parliament here.

" And accordingly when, by God's bleſſing on the late happy Revolution, this kingdom came to have a Parliament, after twenty-ſix years intermiſſion, complaints were heard, writs of error and appeals were received, and proper orders were made thereon as formerly; nor were they, as far as we can find, ever queſtioned, or their validity doubted, till the year 1699, when two appeals from the Parliament here were carried before the Lords in England, though no pleadings to the juriſdiction of the Parliament of Ireland had been offered or mentioned by either party, on hearing the ſaid cauſes here.

" And

" And though the Parliament of Ireland could not then interpoſe, or any way aſſert their juriſdiction, becauſe it was not fitting, yet the Lords of England declared the ſaid cauſes to be *coram non judice*, and without hearing the merits of the cauſes, reverſed the decrees that had been made here.

" Upon which occaſion, we cannot but obſerve, that the Parliament of Ireland (as the conſtitution thereof has been for ſome hundreds of years) being convened by the ſame authority and writs of ſummons, and conſiſting of like members and diſtinct Houſes of Peers and Commons, and the former having the ſame aſſiſtance and attendance from the Judges of the ſeveral Courts and Maſters of Chancery as in England or Great Britain, either ſome record, act of Parliament, or ancient uſage muſt be ſhewn, whereby to make a difference (which has never yet been attempted) or elſe, from our very conſtitution it muſt, as we conceive, appear, that whatever power of judicature is lodged in the Engliſh or Britiſh Parliament, with reſpect to that kingdom and its inferior Courts, the ſame muſt be allowed to be in the Parliament of Ireland, with like reſpect to the kingdom and Courts thereof. And if it be looked upon as illegal for any inferior Court in Great Britain to act in direct oppoſition to, or contempt of the orders and decrees of the Houſe of Lords in Parliament there aſſembled, the ſame muſt alſo be concluded upon the like oppoſition given, or contempt ſhewn, to ſuch parliamentary orders and decrees, as are or ſhall be made within this kingdom.

" And therefore, in the year 1703, when a Parliament of Ireland met on a complaint of Edward, Earl of Meath, and Cecilia, Counteſs of Meath, his wife, ſetting forth, that during the interval of Parliament they had, by order of the Lords in England, been diſpoſſeſſed of the lands that had been here decreed them, the ſaid Parliament *unanimouſly* reſtored

reſtored the ſaid Earl and Counteſs to the lands they had been ſo diſpoſſeſſed of, ſo effectually, that neither they nor their heirs have been diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of them.

"And we may very juſtly conclude, from the ſtrong reſolutions in which the Parliament here did on that occaſion aſſert their juriſdiction, that they would have proceeded as effectually in vindicating the decree on the other appeal, if the removal of the Lord Biſhop of Derry, the appellant here, and a compoſition made by his ſucceſſor with the Iriſh ſociety of Londonderry, the appellants in England, had not prevented it.

"After the time of thoſe two appeals, ſeveral writs of error and appeals were brought into your Parliament in this kingdom, and among them an appeal wherein Maurice Anneſley, Eſq. was reſpondent, which were determined, and the judgment given on them took effect accordingly. But the ſame Maurice Anneſley being reſpondent in an appeal brought lately from the Chancery of the Exchequer, before the Parliament of Ireland, by Heſter Sherlock, appellant, after having appeared to the juriſdiction here, appealed to the Lords of Great Britain, from a decree made here in juſtice to the appellant Heſter Sherlock, and found ſuch countenance there, as has given your loyal ſubjects juſt reaſon to complain of much injury done both to your Majeſty's prerogative and their privileges.

"For it having (after a full and fair hearing) been decreed in your Majeſty's Parliament of Ireland, and accordingly ordered, that the appellant, Heſter Sherlock, ſhould be put into poſſeſſion of certain lands in the ſaid order named, until ſhe ſhould receive thereout a certain ſum of money to her decreed, to be due and chargeable on the ſaid lands;—And the ſaid decree and order having accordingly been obeyed, and put in execution by the then High Sheriff of the

the county of Kildare, to whom the ſaid order was directed; and the ſaid Heſter Sherlock being accordingly in the actual poſſeſſion of the ſaid lands, the Lord Chief Baron, together with the other Barons of your Majeſty's Court of Exchequer in this kingdom, have taken upon them, in an illegal and unprecedented manner, to cauſe the ſaid Heſter Sherlock to be diſpoſſeſſed of the ſaid lands, and to lay ſeveral great fines upon the late High Sheriff of the ſaid county of Kildare, for refuſing to give obedience unto the orders of them, the ſaid Barons, in that caſe iſſued, although their ſaid orders were manifeſtly contrary to the laws, cuſtoms, and ancient uſages, of this your Majeſty's kingdom, as well as to the above-mentioned reſolutions formerly made in the caſe of the late Earl of Meath, and continuing upon record in the Journals of Parliament, of which reſolutions, as well as of the ſeveral reſolutions and decrees in like manner made upon the appeal of the ſaid Heſter Sherlock, the ſaid Barons had ſufficient and timely notice before the iſſuing of any of their above-mentioned illegal orders, as in a report of this whole proceeding, now alſo entered in the Journals of Parliament (a copy whereof we herewith humbly lay before your Majeſty) may more fully and at large appear.

" Hereupon we humbly crave leave to repreſent unto your Majeſty, that although appeals from the Courts of Equity in this kingdom to the Lords of England or Great Britain, are but a very late practice, (as we have already ſet forth); yet in all ſuch caſes, it has been the conſtant and received practice here, that no copy of any order of the ſaid Lords was ever allowed, or demanded to be allowed, as authentic in any ſuch Court, except the ſame were expreſsly directed unto the Court which was to put the ſame in execution, and proved by a witneſs *viva voce*, upon oath, to be a true copy of the original order. Nor does it appear, that any ſuch Court ever claimed, or pretended to any authority, to ſup-

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ply any defects ſuppoſed at any time to be in any ſuch order, or by virtue of ſuch order in the leaſt to go beyond what expreſsly and in words was in ſuch order contained. And yet ſo it is, that although the only pretence of the ſaid Barons for theſe their illegal proceedings, is grounded upon certain copies of orders, or pretended orders, from the Lords of Great Britain; yet neither were the ſaid orders, or any of them, directed to the Court of Equity or Chancery-ſide of the Exchequer, (where the cauſe originally lay, and from whence the appeal was) but only to the Lord Chief Baron and other Barons, which is the ſtile of the common law-ſide thereof; nor were the ſaid copies, or any of them, in manner aforeſaid proved to agree with the original orders; neither were the names of any lands, or ſo much as of any county, inſerted in the ſaid copies, or any of them. And yet notwithſtanding all theſe notorious defects and nullities of the ſaid pretended orders, the ſaid Barons have proceeded not only in their own names, to whom the ſaid pretended orders were directed, but alſo in the names of the Chancellor and Treaſurer of the Court of Exchequer, (to whom the ſaid orders were no way directed) to iſſue forth ſeveral injunctions and orders, and therein, without any warrant for ſo doing, to inſert the names of lands, and of the county wherein they are ſuppoſed to lie, in order to diſpoſſeſs the ſaid Heſter Sherlock of lands whereof ſhe had been put into poſſeſſion, as is herein above-mentioned.

"And that your Majeſty may be yet more fully appriſed of the arbitrarineſs as well as the illegality of the proceedings of the ſaid Barons, we further, in all humble manner, lay before your Majeſty, that whereas, amongſt other rules of practice in all your Majeſty's Courts throughout this your kingdom, by ancient law and cuſtom eſtabliſhed, it is univerſally received, that every order or other rule of Court ought to be made upon the motion of ſome Counſel or Attorney,

or

or other perſon by law or cuſtom allowed to make ſuch motion; that no injunction or writ, ought to iſſue out of any of your Majeſty's Courts, (except in the Crown's cauſe) without the name of a Six Clerk or Attorney, thereunto ſubſcribed, who is to be accountable unto every perſon, who through any unaue practice of his, ſhall be aggrieved by ſuch writ or injunction, and that no proceedings ſhall be grounded upon any written affidavit, which is known to be either falſe or defective in any material point thereof, (except ſuch defect be firſt ſupplied or falſity expunged) the ſaid Barons in theſe their proceedings, have acted in open violation of theſe, as well as other rules, which by the law they ought to have obſerved and ſtrictly kept to. The Barons having ordered an injunction to iſſue for the diſpoſſeſſing of the ſaid Heſter Sherlock, without any motion for the ſame made either by Counſel or Attorney, or by any other perſon, except what was offered in Court by the ſaid Lord Chief Baron himſelf; the ſaid injunction alſo having no name of any Attorney thereunto affixed or ſubſcribed; and the affidavit of John Anneſley (upon which the ſaid Barons afterwards proceeded to fine the ſaid late High Sheriff) having ſeveral notorious falſities in it, of which, tho' the ſaid Barons were publicly advertiſed at the time when the ſaid affidavit was read in open Court, yet, they took on them to act thereupon, without cauſing the ſame to be rectified, or the ſaid falſities to be expunged or altered.

"And although the ſaid orders from the Lords in Great Britain expreſsly required no more, but that Maurice Anneſley ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of thoſe lands, of which the ſaid Maurice was diſpoſſeſſed, pending the appeal before the ſaid Houſe; yet the ſaid Barons in their ſaid injunction, not only ordered poſſeſſion of certain lands by name, to be given to the ſaid Anneſley, as is already mentioned, but alſo grounded this their injunction upon an affidavit,

affidavit, wherein it is not so much as alledged that the said Maurice was at all possessed or dispossessed of any lands whatsoever pending the said appeal.

" And whereas it is the duty of the Barons of your Majesty's Court of Exchequer in this kingdom, and a part of the oath by each of them taken at their entrance upon their said office, " That where they may know any wrong or prejudice to be done to the King, they shall put and do all their diligence, that to redress. And if they may not do it, they shall tell it to the King, or them of his Council, or to the King's Majesty's Lieutenant, or other Chief Governor or Governors of this realm for the time being." So far have the said Barons in the present case been from doing all their diligence to redress the wrong or prejudice done to your Majesty's prerogative, of finally determining in your Parliament here, matters relating wholly to this your kingdom, that they seem to have acted with great diligence and zeal in direct opposition thereto, and to have taken such measures as will, in effect, establish a jurisdiction superior to that which your Majesty undoubtedly has in your High Court of Parliament in this kingdom; nor does it in the least appear, or is it at all pretended, that the said Barons, or any of them, during the above-mentioned proceedings, did ever tell, or make known the same, either to your Majesty's Lieutenant or other Chief Governor or Governors, or to your Majesty's Privy Council, who, if they had been timely acquainted therewith, might (according to their duty) have made the same known to your Majesty, or otherwise have done what was fit and proper for the supporting your Majesty's royal prerogative, and defending the just rights and privileges of this your Parliament and people.

" And here we beg leave to lay before your Majesty some of the many evil consequences which we apprehend must

neceſſarily follow from ſuch exorbitant practices as theſe, if a timely and effectual ſtop be not put to them.

" It is the right and happineſs of the ſubjects of this kingdom, as well as thoſe of Great Britain, that by their reſpective conſtitutions, the adminiſtration of juſtice is near at hand, and within the kingdom whereunto they belong. So that if any of your Majeſty's liege people are at any time wronged or oppreſſed in any of the courts of law or equity, they may, without great trouble or expence, have recourſe to your Majeſty, in your High Court of Parliament, where they may aſſure themſelves of ſpeedy redreſs. But if this your Majeſty's Higheſt Court within this kingdom is deprived of the power of finally determining the cauſes which come before them, all ſuch of your ſubjects as do not abound in wealth, and thereby are not able to follow their cauſes, or bear the expence of them in Great Britain, will be under a perpetual neceſſity of ſitting down with the greateſt wrong or oppreſſion which at any time, under the colour of juſtice, or by the management of rich and potent adverſaries may be laid upon them, which (conſidering the poverty that every where prevails throughout this kingdom) muſt, if not prevented in a ſhort time, become a moſt grievous and intolerable evil. And your Majeſty's royal predeceſſor, Edward III. was ſo ſenſible of the hardſhips which his loyal ſubjects of this kingdom ſuffered for want of having a means of reverſing erroneous judgments within this kingdom, that by his Charter, dated Auguſt 30th, in the 29th year of his reign, on the complaint of his ſubjects of Ireland, " he commanded all his Judges and Miniſters before whom any proceſſes ſhould be held at the proſecution of the parties aggrieved, to return the Rolls of the Records, and proceſſes into the Parliaments to be held in the kingdom of Ireland, and that the records and proceſſes ſhould be recited and examined, and the errors (if any ſhould be found in them) duly corrected.

" It

" It is, under God, the great ſecurity of this your Majeſty's kingdom of Ireland, that by the laws and ſtatutes thereof, the ſame is annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of England, and declared to be depending upon, and for ever belonging to the ſame; but if all judgments, decrees, and determinations made in this your Majeſty's High Court, within this your kingdom, are ſubject to be annulled and reverſed by the Lords in Great Britain, the liberties and properties of all your ſubjects of Ireland muſt thereby become finally dependant on the Britiſh Peers, to the great diminution of that dependence which by law we always ought to have immediately upon the Crown itſelf.

" That your Majeſty has, by the conſtitution of this your realm of Ireland, the full power of judging and determining all cauſes that belong to it alone in Pleno Parliamento, is what no man hitherto has ventured openly to deny or doubt of.

" But if in all caſes that relate to this kingdom, the *dernier reſort*, (as ſome of late have affected to ſpeak) ought to be to the Houſe of Lords in Great Britain, however this your Majeſty's power may ſtill in words be acknowledged, the force and effect of it is in reality taken away and wholly veſted in the Britiſh Peers.

" And we cannot but obſerve, with the utmoſt concern, that by this practice of the Peers of Great Britain, juſt and unjuſt cauſes will meet with equal encouragement. For however rightly ſuch cauſes may be determined in Parliament here, the decrees will be annulled and reverſed by the Peers of Great Britain, without hearing or entering into the merits of the cauſe, upon pretence that the proceedings were *coram non judice*.

" The writs for ſummoning the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and electing the Commons to aſſemble in Parliament here, being the very ſame with thoſe in England or Great Britain, as has been before obſerved, either the reſpective powers in each kingdom muſt ſtill be the ſame, or elſe the Peerage of this your Majeſty's kingdom muſt remain little more than an empty title, and the Commons thereof ſtand for ever deprived of that moſt valuable privilege of impeaching in Parliament, which cannot poſſibly be maintained if there be no ſuch thing as a parliamentary judicature within this realm; *and if the power of the judicature may, by a vote of the Britiſh Lords, be taken away from the Parliament of Ireland, no reaſon can be given why the ſame may not, in like manner, deprive us of the benefit of our whole conſtitution.*

" It is notorious, that the Lords of Great Britain have not, in themſelves, either by law or cuſtom, any way of putting their decrees in execution within this kingdom, of which they have given moſt undoubted evidence by their late application to your Majeſty, to cauſe ſuch their decrees to be executed by an extraordinary interpoſition of your royal power. And ſhould your Majeſty think fit to yield to this their deſire, we humbly preſume to think it would highly affect the liberty of your Majeſty's loyal ſubjects of this kingdom.

" In order to prevent the appellant, Heſter Sherlock, above-mentioned, from making any further application to your Parliament here, your Majeſty's Deputy-receiver, John Pratt, Eſq. thought fit to pay above 1800l. to the ſaid Heſter Sherlock, which, on examination, he alledged to be his own money; and that he made an agreement with the ſaid Heſter, of himſelf, without any order from any perſon whatſoever; but that from ſome converſation which he had with perſons of judgment, he thought he had reaſon to

hope

hope and expect, that since what he had done was for the public good, the Government would not permit him to be a sufferer. What particular grounds the said John Pratt had thus to hope and expect, has not as yet been made known to us. But if such hopes and expectations as these are from time to time to be satisfied, we leave your Majesty, in your royal wisdom, to judge what the evil consequences thereof may be.

" And we farther humbly represent to your Majesty, that these proceedings of the Lords of England have greatly embarrassed your Parliament, and disquieted the generality of your most loyal Protestant subjects of this your kingdom, and must, of necessity, bring all sheriffs and officers of justice under great hardships, by reason of the clashing of different jurisdictions. Nor can we but with grief observe, that whilst many of the Peers and Commons who sat in Parliament were Papists, their judicature was never questioned; but of late, since only Protestants are qualified to have a share in the Legislature, their power, and the right of hearing causes in Parliament, hath been denied, to the great discouragement and weakening of the Protestant interest in Ireland.

" And having thus, with all humility, laid before your Majesty your undoubted power and prerogative within this your kingdom of Ireland, the immediate dependence of the same upon your Majesty's Crown, the right your Majesty has to hold Parliaments here, as in Great Britain, and of finally determining therein all matters that wholly relate to this realm, together with the great incroachments that of late have been made upon your Majesty's prerogative, and the rights of this your Parliament, and the illegal unprecedented proceedings of the Lord Chief Baron, and the other Barons of your Majesty's Court of Exchequer, whereby they have endeavoured to support those encroachments with the evil

conſequences of ſuch proceedings, in caſe that a ſpeedy and effectual ſtop be not thereunto put. We moſt humbly hope, that all theſe things being duly conſidered and weighed with your Majeſty's uſual wiſdom, will abundantly juſtify us in the methods we have taken, as well for the ſupporting of your Majeſty's royal prerogative, as the preſervation of the juſt rights and liberties of ourſelves and our fellow-ſubjects, as the ſame are ſet forth in the ſeveral reſolutions we have come to, (a copy whereof we have hereunto annexed) with all humility aſſuring your Majeſty, that no difficulties which we may be laid under, ſhall hinder us from giving the utmoſt diſpatch to all your Majeſty's affairs, or from moſt chearfully demonſtrating that loyalty and affection to your Majeſty's perſon, and attachment to your intereſt, which becomes your Majeſty's dutiful and obedient ſubjects, whereof we again, from our hearts, make an humble tender to your moſt ſacred Majeſty.

"Reſolved, That a committee be appointed to draw up an humble addreſs to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to deſire his Grace to lay the ſaid repreſentation before his Majeſty, in the beſt and moſt effectual manner."

Great Britain finding her authority thus conteſted, paſſed the declaratory ſtatute before mentioned, to put her claims out of diſpute :—ſuch was the origin of that act.

* * * * * *

We return now to the Parliamentary proceedings in this kingdom in 1782. A bill was introduced by Mr. *Eden* on the 27th of February for eſtabliſhing a *National Bank.* This met with ſome oppoſition, but the meaſure was carried, and the Bank opened the year following. By this act (21 and 22 Geo. 3. c. 16) the bank was eſtabliſhed by the name of—'*The Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland.*' The ſubſcribers to it were to pay in £.600,000 either in caſh, or debentures, at 4 per cent. which were to be taken at *par*, and

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conſidered as money. This ſum was to be the capital ſtock of the bank, and the debentures to that amount, when received, were to be cancelled by the Vice-Treaſurers. For theſe an annuity of £.24,000 was to be paid to the company, being equal to the intereſt payable upon theſe debentures ;—ſaid ſtock to be redeemable at any time, upon twelve months notice, after the 1ſt January, 1794. Ireland obtained likewiſe an important acquiſition, by a bill "*for better ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject*," otherwiſe called the *Habeas Corpus* act, ſimilar to that formerly paſſed in *England*,† and juſtly conſidered as the great bulwark of perſonal freedom.—Heads of a bill were likewiſe preſented for ſecuring the freedom of Parliament by limiting the number of *Placemen and Penſioners* to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, but this attempt proved unſucceſsful.

It has been already obſerved, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland, had experienced in many inſtances the indulgent attention of the Legiſlature ; but as they ſtill continued under certain reſtrictions, which were conſidered by many to have been then impolitic and illiberal, it was thought adviſable to extend the privileges that had been granted them, and amongſt other particulars, to enable them to purchaſe or acquire eſtates in *fee*. For this purpoſe a bill was introduced this Seſſion by the late Lord *Mountjoy* (then *Luke Gardiner*, Eſq.) "for the further relief of his Majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion."—As this was an intereſting ſubject, which engaged the attention of all parties, and received a very full diſcuſſion in Parliament, we ſhall ſtate ſome of the principal arguments that were advanced on each ſide of the conteſted queſtion.

Mr. *Gardiner* obſerved that as the penal laws then ſtood, it was impoſſible for any man who had not the ſtatute-book by rote, to know *exactly* what diſqualifications Catholics la-

† Engliſh ſtat. 31ſt Char. II. ch. 2.

boured under; he therefore wiſhed to have *this ſingle law relative to them*, that their rights and their incapacities being exactly defined therein, they might upon every occaſion reſort to it for the government of their conduct. It had been ſaid that Papiſts were ſafe from penal laws, ſo long as the generous and merciful diſpoſition of their countrymen diſdained to put them into execution; but, he ſaid, no law ought to remain on the ſtatute-book which was not executed —*if it was too bad to be executed, it ought to be expunged.* He divided the indulgence which he thought ought to be granted to Roman Catholics, into five heads: the firſt reſpecting their *enjoyment of property*; the ſecond, the *free exerciſe of religion*; the third regarded their *education*; the fourth, *marriage*; and the fifth, *ſelf-defence*. He then proceeded to conſider the clauſes empowering Roman Catholics to *take, purchaſe, and enjoy*. To this it was propoſed by other Members to add, "*to have, hold, and inherit* eſtates in fee-ſimple, except advowſons, and lands to which a right of making feneſchals was annexed, or any burgage or borough-right, by which Members might be returned to ſerve in Parliament." In order, however, to get rid of the bill without further proceeding, it was ſuggeſted that it ought to be poſtponed 'till the 23d of October 1788—this occaſioned a reply from Mr. *Walſhe*, who ſaid, "An Hon. Member has moved you, that the conſideration of the heads of a bill on your table, for the relief of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, be poſtponed until the 23d of October 1788."—This motion is clearly intended at once to do away the clauſe, which has been propoſed to you by a Right Hon. Member, (Mr. Gardiner) that of permitting Roman Catholics to purchaſe the fee of lands. The Hon. Member who made the motion, has very candidly ſaid, that the intention of his motion was to fruſtrate the great object of the bill; he has very decidedly declared himſelf an enemy to the principle of the bill itſelf; ſo that I think I am now free to meet the Hon. Member on that ground.

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The ſubject now before the committee is, in my opinion, of the firſt magnitude; it is a ſubject of the very laſt importance to this country, and merits a very ſerious diſcuſſion indeed. The queſtion now is, whether Ireland ſhall ſtand as powerful, as a reſpectable, and as a flouriſhing kingdom in the eyes of all the world; or whether we ſhall continne in our preſent impotent and impoveriſhed ſituation; diſtracted and divided among ourſelves, with at leaſt two millions of our countrymen and fellow-ſubjects living in a ſtate of abſolute vaſſalage, incapacitated from either ſerving themſelves, or from ſerving their country.

The bill on your table is for the relief of his Majeſty's Roman Catholic ſubjects of Ireland. I think I may then ſay, with propriety, that it is a bill for the relief of at leaſt two millions of our countrymen, loyal to the conſtitution, and loyal to the prince. They have proved themſelves ſuch on ſome very trying and recent occaſions. For I will not go back to Magna Charta to enquire what religion the barons were of, who won that great charter of our liberties—thoſe barons who won that conſtitution which is at once the envy and admiration of the world—let it be for the gentlemen who oppoſe the bill to ſay, that they were not Roman Catholics. I cannot conceive upon what principle of ſound policy, or upon what idea of conſtitutional liberty, the preſent heads of a bill can poſſibly be oppoſed.

Theſe heads of a bill tend to a repeal of the Popery-laws of this kingdom; a code of laws, I am bold to ſay, the moſt ſanguinary, the moſt perſecuting that ever appeared in the ſtatute-books of any free country; a code of laws, the very exiſtence of which at this day is, in my opinion, a reproach to the good ſenſe of Parliament.

Theſe heads of a bill look to this great object—that of uniting in cordial affection, and in intereſt, all claſſes and all denominations of men in this country. This bill wiſhes that

every

every individual in this kingdom ſhould be intereſted in its proſperity. This bill wiſhes that every man may have ſome property on board the *bark*, and that no man may ſtand an indifferent ſpectator, whether ſhe ſinks or ſwims This bill has for its object, the bringing into action, nay, I may ſay into life, two millions of men, who, in fact, have been dead to ſociety, who have been an abſolute burden, and a clog on the induſtry of their native country. But above all, theſe heads of a bill look to this great and truly patriotic object—that of making us a *people*—a great, a powerful people—by uniting the ſons of Ireland in one common intereſt, and in one common cauſe for her proſperity.—It is an eſtabliſhed maxim, that the riches and conſequence of a country conſiſt in the number of its inhabitants. And yet I am ſorry to ſay, that Ireland at this day, proves the truiſm of the maxim, by being an exception to the rule: For the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in number about two millions, ſo far from adding either to the riches, or to the conſequence of this country, are a burden and a dead weight on its induſtry, and muſt inevitably continue ſo, ſo long as the Popery-laws remain unrepealed.

Ireland, from its ſituation, ſhould be as flouriſhing and as happy a country as any under the ſun. Ireland is ſurrounded by fruitful coaſts—ſhe poſſeſſes the ſafeſt harbours—ſhe enjoys a temperate climate, and is bleſſed in the fertility of her ſoil—and yet Ireland is, at this day, as far behind other nations, as to arts and induſtry, as ſhe is beyond them in point of natural advantages.

It may be aſked, why Ireland, with all thoſe *natural advantages*, ſhould be ſo far *behind* other nations in *arts* and *induſtry?*—The anſwer is obvious—*the Popery-laws are ſtill alive!* Thoſe laws which render *torpid* and uſeleſs to this country, *two millions* of its inhabitants.—The wealth of a country muſt ever be in proportion to the *ſkill* and *induſtry* of its inhabitants

tants: The ſure way to make men *induſtrious* is to let them *enjoy the fruits of their induſtry*. As induſtry increaſes, manufactures muſt neceſſarily flouriſh; therefore, the great object of the legiſlature ſhould be to excite induſtry by employing the people; not to continue laws which render the bulk of the people a burden to the ſtate.

The obvious intereſt of Ireland, at this hour, is to grant to religious diſſenters, their civil privileges, which may annex them to the civil government; not to continue perſecuting laws which muſt neceſſarily eſtrange them from it. I would not be underſtood to ſay, that the Popery-laws, when made, were not neceſſary to the protection of its civil conſtitution; but this I will ſay, that the motives which then induced the neceſſity of thoſe laws, have long ſince ceaſed to exiſt. Theſe laws have outlived their time, and, in my opinion, a longer continuation of them, circumſtanced as this country now particularly ſtands, muſt be its inevitable ruin.

It will not be denied, I believe, that the conduct of the Roman Catholics of this country, for a ſeries of years, has been that of obedience to the laws, and attachment to the eſtabliſhed government. Why then continue unneceſſarily thoſe penal laws, which abſolutely involve two thirds of our fellow ſubjects—which deprive them of the rights of men, and cut them off from any benefit of a free conſtitution? Can any laws be more unwiſe than thoſe which reſtrain the Roman Catholics, not from evil, but abſolutely from doing good—laws which abſolutely prohibit induſtry, by tying up the hands of two millions of men from co-operating with the public in the public ſervice?

I will ſuppoſe, merely for argument, that the Roman Catholics are not ſo well attached to us from principle as could be wiſhed, Will any gentleman then ſay, that a continuation of thoſe Popery-laws will be a probable mode of winning

ning the affections, or enſuring the attachments of this unfortunate claſs of people—unfortunate indeed, when doomed to vaſſalage in a country of *freedom*, and treated as aliens in their native land?

The wiſeſt man who, I believe, has ever written on the ſubject of legiſlation, (I mean Baron Monteſquieu) treating of the very ſubject now before us—that of penal laws as to religion—ſays, that penal laws as to religion, have never produced any other effect, than that of making the objects of them more perſevering: Says he, "The ſure way to win the zealots in any religion is, to court them by favours—by the conveniencies of life—by hopes of fortune. It is an eſtabliſhed rule as to the changing of religion, that the invitations to the change muſt ever be more ſtrong than the penalties."

Have not the very laws we are now diſcuſſing proved the wiſdom of his judgment? Can it be preſumed that theſe Popery-laws (if unrepealed) can produce, other, or more ſalutary effects for the time to come, than they have produced for near a century paſt—that of *miſery* to *individuals*, and *impotency* to the *ſtate*.

Since then the *iron* hand of *penal law* has proved ineffectual, why not endeavour to *wed* the Roman Catholic to us from motives of ſelf-intereſt. The happineſs of every ſtate depends upon the *common intereſt* of the ſubject, not on uniformity of opinion as to this or that religion. If Roman Catholics are permitted to purchaſe lands, they muſt neceſſarily become ſincere ſupporters of the eſtabliſhed government. They then become *wedded* to it by the ſtrongeſt of all ties—that of *ſelf-intereſt*.—The ſecurity of ſelf-intereſt is the ſupport of every government. Will it be argued, that the greater the ſtake a man has to loſe by the ſubverſion of that government under which he lives, the more he is to be ſuſpected as an enemy to it? Or that the leſs a man is intereſted

in

in the welfare of the ſtate, the more he is to be confided in? Surely this is too abſurd a doctrine to be entertained for an inſtant. A Roman Catholic, by purchaſing lands, enters into ſecurity for his good conduct He (if I may uſe the expreſſion) enters into a kind of recogniſance for his loyalty to the ſtate.

By permitting Roman Catholics to purchaſe, you annex their loyalty to the ſoil; by that means it becomes ſtable and permanent; whereas, at preſent the property of Roman Catholics is totally perſonal; it is a kind of fugitive property, which may almoſt inſtantly be transferred from one country to another. If found policy and good ſenſe have not heretofore told us to repeal thoſe laws, the preſent times, the very critical ſituation of the Britiſh empire, furniſh a deciſive reaſon for repealing them at this day. England has wiſely repealed her Popery-laws.

In this liberal and enlightened age, when almoſt all the powers of Europe have reſigned religious policy to public intereſt—when toleration, the darling child of benevolence and of wiſdom, has been adopted in the place of perſecution, that dreary offspring of blind prejudice and hoary bigotry—when reaſon has re-aſſumed her throne—ſhall Ireland alone continue enveloped under that dark cloud of deep rooted prejudice and baſeleſs apprehenſion? Shall ſhe alone be blind to her own intereſt, while all Europe hang out a lure to the Roman Catholics of this country to emigrate—to depopulate their native land?—Shall we ſit dormant and inactive, while the remedy is within our reach?—There is no man who will voluntarily baniſh himſelf from his native country. Every man who has the feelings of man, muſt have a natural affection for that country which gave him birth. Nothing but cruelty and oppreſſion can oblige him to part it—he is wedded to it by every tie of affection, by every tie of connexion.

But

But if the preſent heads of a bill ſhall be rejected, can any man heſitate to ſay, that every Roman Catholic in the country, who has the ſmalleſt portion of property; that every Roman Catholic who poſſeſſes the ſpirit of a man, and who does not prefer vaſſalage and ſlavery to liberty and freedom, will not immediately tranſport himſelf, his family, and his property, to another country; into a country where he may participate of the bleſſings of a free conſtitution, and enjoy the rights of a freeman?

Mr. *Flood* ſaid, that he always wiſhed to emboſom the Roman Catholics in the body of the ſtate—yet without courting praiſe on one hand, or fearing cenſure on the other, he would, ſpeaking neglectful of both, deliver his opinion on this great ſubject, and hoped it would be received with the ſame candour it was given. About five years ago, ſaid he, a law was paſſed, granting the Roman Catholics infinitely more than is now propoſed; the day was celebrated with rejoicing, and it was thought we had reconciled every party—I am now ſorry to hear gentlemen ſpeak as if nothing had been done for them. The Right Hon. Gentleman who prepared the bill now before us, well knows that I did object to that indiſcriminate clauſe—one reaſon was, that while you were endeavouring to conciliate *that eſtimable and beloved body of men*, you ſeemed to hide your bounties, and to ſhew only the ſeverity of the laws. In the former laws, leaſes for years were granted to them upon the avowed principle of reſtraining them from any influence in elections. This law then goes beyond toleration—it gives them a power, and tends to make a change in the ſtate. I have a great reſpect for the Roman Catholics, and though I will not condemn, yet I will not wholly approve their conduct. Ninety years ago the queſtion was, whether Popery and arbitrary power ſhould be eſtabliſhed in the perſon of King James, or freedom and the Proteſtant religion in the perſon of King William—four fifths of the inhabitants of Ireland adhered to the cauſe of

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King James; they were defeated, and I rejoice in their defeat. The laws that followed this event were not laws of perſecution, but of political neceſſity—and are you now prepared for a new government? Can you poſſibly ſuppoſe, though the Roman Catholics prefer you to every other people, that they will prefer you to themſelves?—What then is the conſequence, if you give them equal power with the Proteſtants? Can a Proteſtant conſtitution ſurvive? Yet ſhould the majority of this nation attempt to alter the conſtitution, I firmly believe they would be repelled by the minority, and then a total convulſion muſt follow.

It is neceſſary when you are granting Roman Catholics indulgence, that you ſhould diſtinguiſh between the rights of property and the rights of power; while a man is engaged in acquiring property he is in a habit of induſtry, and when acquired, it ties him to the ſtate. But with great reſpect to my Right Hon. Friend, I think the queſtion of religious toleration ſhould have been brought on firſt, becauſe I am certain it would not have met with a ſingle diſſenting voice, and it would have been a glorious opportunity of ſhewing the liberality of a Proteſtant parliament, but though we wiſh to extend toleration to Roman Catholics, we do not wiſh to ſhake the government; we ſhould allow them to purchaſe lands, but we ſhould carefully guard againſt their poſſeſſing any power in the ſtate. Therefore, for the benefit of all, and that we may not deſtroy the balance of the ſtate (for I am ſure no ſenſible Roman Catholic wiſhes to unhinge the ſtate) let us grant them full ſecurity in matters of property, but prevent their interference in matters of ſtate. As to what has been ſaid of the indulgence granted to Proteſtants in other countries, I muſt obſerve, that nothing can be more miſchievous than for one ſtate, or one individual, to follow exactly the example of another. Difference of circumſtances ſhould produce different modes of action. The Em-

peror

peror of Germany is himself the sole legislator of the state—he is himself a Catholic—nor do the Protestants in his dominions bear the proportion of more than one in an hundred to his Popish subjects. Besides, the Protestants in every country acknowledge the sovereign as head of the church, whereas Catholics look to a foreign jurisdiction in matters ecclesiastical.

Mr. *Grattan*.—I object to any delay which can be given to this clause; we have already considered the subject on a larger scale, and this is but a part of what the clause originally contained. We have before us the example of England, who four years ago granted Catholics a right of taking land in fee; the question is merely whether we shall give this right or not, and if we give it, whether it shall be accompanied by all its natural advantages. Three years ago when this question was debated in this House, there was a majority of three against granting Catholics estates in fee, and they were only allowed to take leases of 999 years; the argument then used against granting them the fee, was that they might influence elections. It has this day been shewn that they may have as effectual an influence by possessing leases of 999 years, as they can have by possessing the fee; at that time, I do declare, I was somewhat prejudiced against granting Roman Catholics estates in fee, but their conduct since that period has fully convinced me of their true attachment to this country. When this country had resolved no longer to crouch beneath the burden of oppression that England had laid upon her—when she armed in defence of her rights, and a high spirited people demanded a FREE TRADE, did the Roman Catholics desert their countrymen? No—they were found amongst the foremost. When it was afterwards thought necessary to assert a free constitution, the Roman Catholics displayed their public virtue; they did not endeavour to take advantage of your situation—they did not endeavour

deavour to make terms for themſelves—but they entered frankly and heartily into the cauſe of their country; judging by their own virtue that they might depend upon your generoſity for their reward. But now after you have obtained a free trade—after the voice of the nation has aſſerted her independence, they approach this Houſe as humble ſuppliants, and beg to be admitted to the common rights of men. Upon the occaſions I have mentioned, I did carefully obſerve their actions, and did then determine to ſupport their cauſe whenever it came before this Houſe; and to bear a ſtrong teſtimony of the conſtitutional principles of the Catholic body. Nor ſhould it be mentioned as a reproach to them that they fought under the banner of King James, when we recollect that before they entered the field, they extorted from him a Magna Charta, a Britiſh conſtitution.

In the reign of Charles II. a committee, conſiſting of Papiſts, Proteſtants, and Preſbyterians, were ſent from this country to proſecute Lord Strafford, we find them perfectly agreeing in the object of their miſſion; and indeed when men begin to differ upon principles of religion, it is becauſe they have no other great object to engage their attention; we cannot give the people of Ireland a *common faith*, but we can give them a *common intereſt*.

In 1779, when the fleets of Bourbon hovered on our coaſts, and the Iriſh nation rouſed herſelf to arms, did the Roman Catholics ſtand aloof? or did they, as might be expected from their oppreſſed ſituation, offer aſſiſtance to the enemy?—No—they poured in ſubſcriptions for the ſervice of their country, or they preſſed into the ranks of HER GLORIOUS VOLUNTEERS.

It has been ſhewn that this clauſe grants the Roman Catholics no new power in the ſtate; every argument therefore which goes againſt this clauſe, goes againſt their having leaſes

for 999 years—every argument which goes againſt their having leaſes of 999 years, goes againſt their having any leaſes at all—and every argument which goes againſt their *having property*, goes againſt their having *exiſtence* in this land.

The queſtion is now, whether we ſhall grant Roman Catholics a power of enjoying eſtates, or whether we ſhall be *a Proteſtant ſettlement* or an IRISH NATION? Whether we will throw open the gates of the temple of Liberty to all our countrymen, or whether we will confine them in bondage by penal laws? So long as the penal code remains, we never can be a great nation; the penal code is the ſhell in which the Proteſtant power has been hatched, and now it is become a bird, it muſt burſt the ſhell aſunder, or periſh in it.

In Holland, where the number of Roman Catholics is comparatively ſmall, the toleration of their religion is an act of mercy to them; but in this country, where they form the great bulk of the inhabitants, it is an act of policy—an act of neceſſity—an act of incorporation. The queſtion is not, whether we ſhall ſhew mercy to the Roman Catholics, but whether we ſhall mould the inhabitants of Ireland into A PEOPLE; for ſo long as we exclude Catholics from natural liberty and the common rights of men, we are not A PEOPLE; *we may triumph over them, but other nations will triumph over us.* If you love the Roman Catholic, you may be ſure of a return from him; but if you treat him with cruelty, you muſt always live in fear, conſcious that you merit his juſt reſentment: Will you then go down the ſtream of time, the Roman Catholic ſitting by your ſide unbleſſing and unbleſſed, blaſting and blaſted? Or will you take off his chain, that he may take off yours? Will you give him freedom, that he may guard your liberty?

In Ireland, as connected with England, the indulgence we wiſh to give to Catholics can never be injurious to the Proteſtant

teſtant religion; that religion is the religion of the ſtate, and will become the religion of Catholics, if ſeverity does not prevent them. *Bigotry may ſurvive perſecution, but it never can ſurvive toleration.* But gentlemen who ſpeak of the enormities committed by Catholics groaning under a ſyſtem of penal laws, do not take into account the enlightening and the ſoftening of mens' minds by toleration, nor do they conſider that as they increaſe in wealth, they will increaſe in learning and politeneſs.

I give my conſent to the clauſe in its PRINCIPLE, EXTENT, and BOLDNESS—I give my conſent to it, as the moſt likely means of obtaining a victory over the *prejudices of Catholics, and over our own*—I give my conſent to it, becauſe I would not keep two millions of my fellow ſubjects in a ſtate of ſlavery; and becauſe as the mover of the DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, I ſhould be aſhamed of giving FREEDOM to but ſix hundred thouſand of my countrymen, when I could extend it to two millions more.

The committee on this bill proceeded to conſider farther, the clauſe granting Roman Catholics a power of having fee ſimple eſtates,

Sir *Hercules Langriſhe* ſupported the clauſe, becauſe he obſerved, it was *plain, ſimple*, and eaſily underſtood. We have ſhewn how readily Roman Catholics, poſſeſſed of leaſes for 999 years, may, by colluſion, acquire the fee; the queſtion, therefore, ceaſes to be a queſtion of policy, whether you will make them a liberal grant of property, and allow them to poſſeſs legally and openly what they may acquire in a clandeſtine manner. Gentlemen will alſo conſider, that by allowing Catholics to poſſeſs the fee of lands, they for ever bar the claim of old proprietors, and intereſt every Catholic who enjoys ſuch poſſeſſion in the ſupport of the eſtabliſhed

government. A gentleman says, he wishes to give Catholics property, but would restrain them from having power, lest they should influence elections: For my part, I entertain little apprehension from their having any power in elections, the influence arising from landed property is the only influence that can ever be injurious to the country. But the same person says, that few Roman Catholics set their lands to Protestant tenants, if so, then they can have no freeholders on their estates—I leave, therefore, the inconsistency of those two arguments to answer each other.

Mr. *Flood*.—I am as much a friend to the principle of the bill as any Gentleman in this House, and if any thing had occurred to me capable of obviating the inconveniencies that have been mentioned, I should have proposed it, but I have not thought of any thing that I can venture. I wish to give them property, permanent property, but not political power; it is very true, that when a contested election comes to be tried before a committee, if it appears that a Catholic influence has prevailed, they may declare the election void; and by your law you may declare, that if on any election any person deriving under a Catholic shall vote, the election shall *ipso facto* be rendered void. I only state this idea, but wish to have the clause adjourned for further consideration.

Mr. *Forbes*.—I will not impute to Gentlemen who urge this adjournment, an intention to destroy the bill; yet it is somewhat strange they should persist in it, when every man of profession knows that the clause may be guarded by a proviso as far as may be necessary. I was at first alarmed at what was said, till I considered more attentively. I find, upon reflection, that were we to alter the clause in the manner desired, it would allow Catholics to acquire estates, but would convey destruction to them—it would say, we give you power to acquire the fee of lands, but we cannot trust you with the rights

rights appertaining to the fee, becauſe in time to come you may deſtroy our conſtitution. If this be our opinion, let us not grant them any thing at all. By all the acts which the tyranny of the laſt age deviſed, a Proteſtant was not prohibited from ſettling on the eſtate of a Catholic—the ſcheme of the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt but one, would effectually prohibit them—it would not only be oppreſſive to Catholics, but a puniſhment to ſuch Proteſtants as ſhould ſettle on their lands. The great object of the penal laws was to break the power of Papiſts in Ireland; that object they accompliſhed, but they alſo ruined and deſtroyed the country.—Biſhop Burnet tells us, the ſcheme was totally to root out and baniſh Catholics from Ireland, and to plant Palatines and other foreign Proteſtants in their place—but the ſuperior wiſdom of the preſent age, conſidering mens' faith as a concern purely their own, attempts to bind CATHOLICS to the ſtate by BENEFITS, and to obtain by generoſity what we could not accompliſh by force. Nothing can be more ridiculouſly ſpiteful than the attacks formerly made upon Catholics. You will find upon your journals a petition from the Proteſtant coal-porters of Dublin, complaining of a certain Darby Ryan, a Papiſt maſter coal-porter, for employing a number of Papiſts in that trade. You will find a complaint againſt Sir C. Phipps, for having been preſent at a muſical entertainment, where one Chriſtian, who had formerly been a domeſtic of the Pretender, performed on the violin.—It was alledged that Sir C. had liſtened to the tune of a ſong known by theſe words, "The King ſhall have his right." There was ſome diſpute about the tune, and the houſe, in order to judge whether their member had been guilty of a treaſonable act, ordered his accuſer to whiſtle the tune in queſtion, and gravely ſat to determine by this muſic.

Mr. *Flood*.—I love and admire the Roman Catholics; they ought to do ſo by Proteſtants, for I challenge the world to

ſhew a ſimilar liberality to that which we now manifeſt, *but an unbounded confidence is not to be placed in mankind;* there ſhould be a ſalutary caution, a conſtitutional jealouſy, and though we may talk as ſentimentally as we pleaſe, yet we ſhould not give without conſideration. Gentlemen ſay we ſhould not clog or diſgrace our gift; but our conſtitution muſt be partial, and our policy muſt be partial too. I admit the merit of the Roman Catholics, and that merit makes me conſent to enlarge their privileges; but I will not conſent to their having any influence in chooſing members for this Houſe. 'Tis ſaid indeed they have acted patriotically, and by that rule they ſhould be members of Parliament. It may be a good reaſon, I am ſure that many of our members have not ſo good a one to urge.

General *Cunningham* declared, that in his opinion, a full and liberal toleration to Catholics was the wiſeſt meaſure that could be adopted; it would make us a great and powerful people; obviate the neceſſity of keeping a ſtanding army in time of peace; give us a weight and conſequence among the nations, and enſure to us kindneſs and generous treatment on the part of Great Britain.

The only thing to be guarded and provided for, he ſaid, was a Proteſtant parliament and Proteſtant government; this he thought was ſufficiently provided for by the diſqualification of Catholics to become members of either: And as to what Gentlemen had ſaid of Catholics obtaining influence by poſſeſſing land, the ſame might be ſaid againſt their poſſeſſing money, yet no inconvenience had ever reſulted from that circumſtance. Theſe ſentiments he ſaid did not ariſe upon the moment, they had been deeply rooted in his heart, and as a friend to Ireland he rejoiced that they were ſo generally entertained by the Houſe.

Mr.

Mr. *Flood* desired to know what was intended in respect to Catholics carrying arms.

Mr. *D. Daly*.—My opinion is, that as by law the Privy Council have authority to license Catholics to carry arms, I would have them rather beholden to Parliament for that privilege. As our object is to unite and conciliate, I would have them as much as possible obliged to the legislature of their country. I would not however arm a mob. I would not trust any man that had not some tie to the country—suppose 100*l*. per ann. or any other sum more acceptable to the House. I think this indulgence would be for the benefit of the kingdom. I do not mean to move it myself, but I did say, that if any man would make such a motion, I would second him, and I am ready to keep my word.

Mr. *Bagnell*.—I would arm every man to defend his property who has 10*l*. per annum, and I would also grant to merchants and manufacturers who are entrusted with other people's property, a power to defend it; for suppose this country was invaded, we cannot expect any assistance from England; and if we prevent Catholics from defending their property, one half of our Volunteers must be kept out of the field, to guard it for them against bands of plunderers, who upon such occasions would be found ransacking and destroying the country—wretches whom poverty and oppression have taught to elude the vigilance of the standing army.

Mr. *Grattan* argued, that as it was well known that most Catholics of any property kept arms to defend it, it would be much better to legalize these arms than suffer them to be kept clandestinely, especially as they were as necessary as locks and keys to the security of property; and as people could no more be deprived of the use of the one security than of the other, he proposed that the Grand Juries should be empow-

ered to licenſe ſuch Catholics as they thought proper to carry arms; this he thought would produce much better effects than by confining this authority to the Privy Council.

Mr. *Gardiner* obſerved, that they were not yet come to that part of the bill which provides for SELF-DEFENCE,—Having ſettled the queſtion of PROPERTY—the next was that concerning the FREE EXERCISE OF RELIGION:—The firſt ſtep to which he thought ſhould be the regiſtering of the Roman Catholic Clergy, and to prevent in future the admiſſion of any regulars, but to give full protection to thoſe already here, as from their exemplary conduct they were well entitled to the favour of the ſtate; he would therefore, by a general EMANCIPATING CLAUSE, take off all penalties from ſuch Clergymen as ſhould appear in perſon, take the oath, and regiſter their names before a certain day.

Mr. *Rowley* contended, they ſhould not go beyond the ſpirit of that act which confined Papiſts to the property of 999 years in land. He owned, that toleration ſhould be granted in religious matters, and confined to that only, as otherwiſe it armed Papiſts with a power to return members to parliament.

Mr. *Ogle* ſaid, it was not in the power of the ingenuity of man, to introduce any proceſs which could anſwer the purpoſe. The danger was evidently great, from the certain intereſts Papiſts would inherit through the fee ſimple. In another light, would it not be a hard caſe to diſfranchiſe a Proteſtant of his birth-right; for, as the bill ſtood, a Proteſtant deriving under a Papiſt, could not vote at elections. Gentlemen might talk as they pleaſed, of the oppoſition given, it was not very eaſy to digeſt all at once, this ſenſible alteration in the political ſtate of things. He would remind them of an hiſtorical circumſtance not diſſimilar: In the reign of Auguſtus

guſtus, a courtier, to recommend himſelf by flattery, abuſed Cato to the Emperor, who ſtopped him ſhort, with remarking, " he is a good citizen who oppoſes every innovation on the commonwealth."

Major *Hely Hutchinſon* ſaid, that the committee having determined in a great meaſure, on the queſtion of property, and given the Roman Catholics the liberty of purchaſing the fee ſimple of lands, the reſt of the ſubject related chiefly to religion and education, which, as they were ſo cloſely connected, he hoped he ſhould be excuſed for joining them together. From the example of a former ſeſſion, and the fears of gentlemen of the beſt intentions, he was not ſo much ſurpriſed at the oppoſition the firſt clauſe of the bill had met with; but he hoped that no man would object to the doing away that part of the Popery laws which related to religion and education: a ſyſtem of laws diſgraceful, impolitic, and unjuſt—ſo diſgraceful, that you were aſhamed to execute them—ſo impolitic, that you dared not do it. Thoſe laws (ſaid he) have remained on your ſtatute books for eighty years, in profound and ſullen ſilence, inſulting the Roman Catholic, grating his feelings, upbraiding his policy, and diſhonouring the juſtice of the Proteſtants of Ireland. By one law, it is enacted, that any Roman Catholic, going himſelf, or ſending any other perſon abroad to be educated, ſhall be diſabled from proſecuting any ſuit or action at law; ſhall forfeit all his perſonal property, and the profits of all his lands during life. By another law, there is a penalty on any Roman Catholic who ſhall keep a public ſchool. Now, Sir, as a Roman Catholic cannot receive an education at home, and dare not receive it abroad, the parliament that paſſed this law has ſaid, we, in contradiction to the principles that have actuated other wiſe governments, enact by a law, that a great majority of our people are to receive no education at all. We mean to convert them from a falſe to a true religion, by eſtabliſhing ignorance,

rance, the mother of ſuperſtition. We ſay to the parent, you ſhall not, in conformity to the dictates of God and nature, educate your child; you ſhall not teach him the duties of an honeſt man, or the obligations of a virtuous citizen, though we demand from him, that he ſhall reſpect laws he can only know, becauſe they have trampled upon him, and venerate a conſtitution that has put him out of its pale, and doomed him to perpetual ignorance. If ſuch have not been the conſequences, if the Roman Catholic has been wretchedly ignorant, if he has not been reduced to the moſt contemptible ſtate that any human creature can poſſibly be in, your efforts have not been wanting to make him ſo. But thoſe laws have been fortunately overwhelmed by the preſſure of their own weight; they have had that fate which every law muſt have, enacted by a legiſlator, who, deſcending from his tribunal, forgetting that nature has ſet limits to his power, ſhall convert himſelf from a law-giver into a proſecutor. The cruelty of the law has been the antidote of the poiſon; it has not been executed; humanity has lifted up her voice and forbid the attempt.

In ſhort, gentlemen, you are called upon to paſs this law, by the example of every other enlightened nation in Europe; who, convinced of the unavailing cruelty of religious perſecution, have ſaid to their ſubjects, in the words of the Roman Emperor, "take the ladder, and climb up your own way to Heaven." You are called upon by the diſmembered ſituation of the Britiſh empire, requiring the firmeſt union of all the remaining parts:—You are called upon by the moſt ſalutary, yet moſt painful of all leſſons, your own experience, which tells you, that by a ſyſtem of pains and penalties, you only rivetted the obſtinacy, armed the pride, and oftentimes baniſhed the gallant Roman Catholics of this country into the ſervice of a foreign prince, to publiſh our infamy and his glory wherever he went. If a Proteſtant ſhould ſay to a Roman

man Catholic, why have you perſevered ſo obſtinately in a religion, certainly not ſo pure as mine?—he might reply to him, if in your government I had found any thing but perſecution and oppreſſion, in your laws any thing but cruelty, I might not have been inattentive to your call. But how have you endeavoured to convert me—not by the voice of perſuaſion—but by the cruel rigour of your law, which armed every generous paſſion of the human breaſt againſt you.—— You have refuſed me any ſtake in this my native land; you forbid me to educate my child; the hand of the executioner has been raiſed againſt the man, who would unite your offſpring to mine—force is the clumſy ſupporter of a bad cauſe, truth and reaſon deſpiſe ſuch an aſſiſtant. It has been ſaid by gentlemen in the courſe of this debate, that what has been done, and is now doing by other nations, does not apply to the ſituation of Ireland; I acknowledge it does not exactly; but I will tell you what applies and applies forcibly—the hiſtory of Chriſtianity—the hiſtory of mankind—the hiſtory of eighteen centuries; they tell us, that perſecutions, puniſhments, and even death itſelf, have been found inſufficient to conquer religious obſtinacy; for this plain and ſimple reaſon, the man ſuffering in defence of his religion, thinks that he is ſecuring eternal happineſs hereafter; the leſs intereſt ſinks into the greater.—Human laws can therefore be of no avail: He glories in their rigour; he exults in his puniſhment—— It has been well and truly ſaid of the ſuperſtitious man, that his feet alone are on the earth, but his head is in Heaven.

Permit me now to exhort you, by that manly ſpirit of freedom, which taught you to demand your right from another country, not to ſuffer yourſelves to be reproached, that, while you were clamorous for your privileges as a nation, you refuſed to reſtore a great majority of your fellow ſubjects to their liberties as freemen, and to their great common law rights, as members of the Britiſh conſtitution. Unite with the

the Roman Catholics—you will become a great people, formidable to your enemies, reſpected by Great Britain—Remember the old political axiom—

"*Concordia Res parvæ creſcunt,*
"*Diſcordia maximæ dilabuntur.*"

The Houſe having further proceeded in committee on the Popery bill,

Mr. *Gardiner*.—Hitherto we have endeavoured in framing the bill, to conciliate the opinion, and obtain the ſupport of every gentleman in the Houſe, and we have had the good fortune to ſucceed in two points of the greateſt importance to the Roman Catholics, a full right of poſſeſſing property, and a free exerciſe of their religion; but in the remaining parts of the bill, which regard matrimony and ſelf defence, I find that gentlemen differ widely—for which reaſon, as I would not riſk a *certain good* both for this country and its Roman Catholic inhabitants, by purſuing further advantages, I propoſe to ſtop in the preſent bill, juſt where we are; and having given it the form of law, ſubmit it to the other branches of the legiſlature. I ſhall then, Sir, preſent two new bills, providing for what the firſt has left undone. By one of them it is intended to provide for the education of Catholics, and to this end, I propoſe to repeal the laws made againſt Popiſh ſchoolmaſters and uſhers, and to ſuſpend for limited time thoſe laws which prohibit Catholics from receiving foreign education; for as there are no ſeminaries in Ireland where they can be inſtructed, it is cruel to prevent their being inſtructed abroad, at leaſt till proper ſeminaries can be inſtituted at home.

Mr. *Fitzgibbon*.—I declare that I will uſe every means in my power to prevent Roman Catholics from receiving a foreign

reign education; and if there were not laws in force I would propose new ones to that purpose. After what has been done for Roman Catholics, after we have gone more than half way to meet them, will it be said, that they should not come one step to meet us? Will they continue to send their children to France, to Spain, to Portugal, to imbibe principles of freedom, or attach them to the constitution of this country? Or will you suffer the Roman Catholics, who make a considerable body of the people, to resort to regions of bigotry and superstition, to imbibe principles of passive obedience, and every idea hostile to liberty? I am not so unreasonable as to say, Catholics should receive no education at all, as the laws now in being would seem to enforce; but when I know, to the honour of the present heads of the University, that they are received in it at this day by connivance; and when I have every reason to think that his Majesty, if applied to, would be graciously pleased to give his royal assent to a statute for granting them free admission, I think that, if they persist in sending their children abroad, they are unworthy the favours they have received. The University of Dublin is open to them, and if they decline the advantage, it is not on account of religion, for no religious conformity will be required; but for fear their children should in early life imbibe the principles of a free constitution.

The *Provost*.—The objects of this bill are so various that I think the Right Hon. Gentleman has acted wisely in reducing them to different heads; by this means many precautions may be taken that otherwise could not be so easily adopted: I shall, therefore, follow the rule he has laid down, and confine myself to education.

My opinion is strongly against sending Roman Catholics abroad for education, nor would I establish Popish Colleges at home; our gracious sovereign, who is the legislator of the University

Univerſity of Dublin, may, I think, with eaſe be prevailed upon to paſs a ſtatute for admitting Catholics; and whenever I receive his pleaſure on that ſubject, I ſhall be truly happy in obeying. The advantage of being admitted into the Univerſity of Dublin, will be very great to Catholics:—The Fellows and Tutors are men, not only of moſt exemplary morals, but of the moſt enlightened underſtanding, devoted to virtue and ſound philoſophy; they are capable of imparting morality and knowledge to thoſe placed under their direction, and in this they are aided by poſſeſſing an extenſive library, and by having profeſſors of every ſcience. If Roman Catholics are to participate in theſe advantages, if they are to be admitted into the Univerſity, they need not be obliged to attend the divinity profeſſor, they may have one of their own; and I would have a part of the public money applied to their uſe, to the ſupport of a number of poor lads as ſizers, and to provide premiums for perſons of merit; for I would have them go into examinations, and make no diſtinction between them and the Proteſtants, but ſuch as merit might claim. Why ſhould they not obtain degrees upon taking the new oath? And if thoſe people dare to worſhip God in their own way, why ſhould not the academic badge they wear on their ſhoulder be a mark of ſpirit, and a pledge of the union and harmony between them and the Proteſtants?

In order to prepare Roman Catholics for the Univerſity, I would encreaſe the number of the dioceſan ſchools, and have Catholics inſtructed gratis in them; from thence they might come to Dublin, where they could live upon eaſier terms than in any other part of Ireland, if it be conſidered that almoſt every family in the kingdom have friends or relations ſettled here. By theſe means Roman Catholics might fill their minds with ſound philoſophy, and I think it would be highly honourable to the legiſlature to purſue only ſuch means

as

as theſe. I am an enemy to force when applied to the mind; no man was ever terrified into wiſdom; let us by gentle means induce Roman Catholics to receive all the information they can; in God's name, let them chooſe for themſelves. As to property, they have as much right to poſſeſs it as they have to breathe the air; and when the Houſe granted them property, (I ſpeak without diſparagement to the generoſity of the Houſe) it granted them but a right. Toleration is alſo the birth-right of man. As to their prieſts, we might indeed have limited the number; but we want rather to unite them to the ſtate by indulgence, and acts of kindneſs, than by putting them under any reſtraints, give them cauſe to think they had an intereſt ſeparate from the reſt of their countrymen. But it is certainly a matter of importance that the education of thoſe prieſts ſhould be as perfect as poſſible, and that if they have any prejudices, they ſhould be prejudices in favour of their own country; I therefore think that a clauſe to regulate their education will give this bill the beſt aſſurance of ſucceſs—the preſent laws are diſgraceful, they prohibit the Roman Catholics from receiving any education at all, and therefore ſhould be aboliſhed. The Roman Catholics ſhould receive the beſt education in the eſtabliſhed Univerſity at the public expence; but by no means ſhould Popiſh colleges be allowed, for by them we ſhould again have the preſs groaning with themes of controverſy, college againſt college, and ſubjects of religious diſputation that have long ſlept in oblivion, would again awake, and awaken with them all the worſt paſſions of the human mind. *

The proceedings upon this ſubject concluded with the paſſing of different acts in favour of the Roman Catholics. They were now enabled to purchaſe in *fee*, and take by grant, limitation, deſcent, or deviſe, and lands, tenements and hereditaments in this kingdom, and to diſpoſe of them by will or otherwiſe, to deſcend according to the courſe of the common

* See Parliamentary Regiſter, vol. I.

law, deviseable and transferable in like manner as the lands of Protestants. Certain penal acts respecting the hearing and celebrating mass, and other particulars, were repealed. So much of former acts as prohibited Catholics to keep public schools, was also repealed, and a law enacted to enable them to have the guardianship, care and tuition of their own children.

The *test-act*, by which the *dissenting Protestants* were unjustly excluded from offices of trust under the crown, was repealed likewise.

Besides these acts, the nation was gratified by the repeal of the perpetual mutiny bill, and by the passing that long desired act for making the commission of the Judges of this kingdom to continue *quamdiu se bene gesserint*. An act was also passed to render the manner of conforming from the Popish to the Protestant religion more easy and expeditious. Another, for extending certain of the provisions contained in a former act for confirming all the statutes made in England affecting this kingdom. Another, for sparing to his Majesty, to be drawn out of this kingdom whenever he should think fit, a force not exceeding 5000 men (part of the troops appointed to be kept therein for its defence).

Ireland by the advantages it had now gained, partly in its commerce, and partly in the constitutional regulations of its legislative powers, appeared to have the fullest prospect of future felicity. A few years exhibited evident proofs of encreasing prosperity; and the metropolis, by various public and private buildings, became so much improved and extended, that it promised to vie with almost any other city in Europe.

On

On the 27th day of July, 1782, his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant concluded the ſeſſion with the following ſpeech from the throne:

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" The great and conſtitutional advantages you have ſecured to your country, and the wiſe and magnanimous conduct of Great Britain, in contributing to the ſucceſs of your ſteady and temperate exertions, call for my congratulations, on the cloſe of a ſeſſion which muſt ever reflect the higheſt honour on the national character of both kingdoms.

" It muſt be a moſt pleaſing conſideration to you, to recollect, that in the advances you made towards the ſettlement of your conſtitution, no acts of violence or impatience have marked their progreſs. A religious adherence to the laws confined your endeavours within the ſtricteſt bounds of loyalty and good order; your claims were directed by the ſame ſpirit that gave riſe and ſtability to the liberty of Great Britain, and could not fail of ſucceſs, as ſoon as the councils of that kingdom were influenced by the avowed friends of the conſtitution.

" Such a ſpirit of conſtitutional liberty communicating itſelf from one kingdom to the other, muſt naturally produce that reciprocal confidence and mutual affection, of which we already begin to feel the moſt ſalutary effects. A grateful zeal and generous ardour have united this whole kingdom in the moſt cordial and vigorous exertions, which promiſe effectually to fruſtrate the deſigns of our common enemy, and to re-eſtabliſh and ſecure the glory of the whole empire.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" When I conſider the very active and liberal part you have taken in contributing to theſe great and glorious events,

I muſt as diſtinctly expreſs to you his Majeſty's ſenſe of the laſt effuſion of your generoſity for the defence of the empire, as I muſt return you his moſt gracious thanks for the ſupplies which you ſo chearfully voted at the beginning of this ſeſſion. His Majeſty's royal example not only ſecures to you a moſt juſt and œconomical application of the aids you have granted him, but affords you a moſt ſolemn pledge of attentive inveſtigation into every means which the circumſtances of this country will afford to alleviate the burdens of his loyal and grateful people. To co-operate with you in carrying into effect this moſt benevolent diſpoſition of his Majeſty, will afford me the higheſt gratification; and manifeſt to you the ſentiments I ſhall ever entertain, in return for the confidence you have repoſed in the ſincerity of my profeſſions for your welfare.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"In contemplating the ſervices which your unremitting aſſiduity has rendered to the public, I muſt indulge myſelf in the ſatisfaction of ſpecifying ſome very important acts, which will moſt materially ſtrengthen the great conſtitutional reform you have compleated, and which will for ever diſtinguiſh the period of this memorable ſeſſion. You have provided for the impartial and unbiaſſed adminiſtration of juſtice, by the act for ſecuring the independency of judges. You have adopted one of the moſt effectual ſecurities of Britiſh freedom, by limiting the mutiny-act in point of duration; you have ſecured that moſt invaluable of all human bleſſings, the perſonal liberty of the ſubject, by paſſing the Habeas Corpus act; you have cheriſhed and enlarged the wiſe principles of toleration, and made conſiderable advances in aboliſhing thoſe diſtinctions, which have too long impeded the progreſs of induſtry, and divided the nation. The diligence and ardour with which you have perſevered in the accompliſhment of

these great objects, must ever bear the most honourable testimony of your zeal and industry in the service of your country, and manifest your knowledge of its true interests.

"Many and great national objects must present themselves to your consideration during the recess from parliamentary business; but what I would most earnestly press upon you, as that on which your domestic peace and happiness, and the prosperity of the empire at this moment most immediately depend, is to cultivate and diffuse those sentiments of affection and confidence which are now happily restored between the two kingdoms. Convince the people in your several districts, as you are yourselves convinced, that every cause of past jealousies and discontents is finally removed; that both countries have pledged their good faith to each other, and that their best security will be an inviolable adherence to that compact; that the implicit reliance which Great Britain has reposed on the honour, generosity, and candour of Ireland, engages your national character to a return of sentiments equally liberal and enlarged: Convince them that the two kingdoms are now one, indissolubly connected in unity of constitution and unity of interests; that the danger and security, the prosperity and calamity of the one, must equally affect the other—that they stand or fall together." *

The Parliament was then prorogued to the 24th Sept. following.

* Comm. Journ. Vol. xx.

CHAPTER XIII.

Subject of Parliamentary Reform agitated in England.—Resolutions of the Livery of London.—Petition of the County of York.—Conclusion of the American War.—Parliament of Great Britain address his Majesty.—His Majesty's Answer.—Earl Temple appointed Lord Lieutenant.—Address to him by the Corporation of Dublin.—His Answer.—Further proceedings in England respecting the Declaratory Act.—Installation of Knights of St. Patrick.—Ceremony of their Installation.—Asylum appointed for Emigrants from Geneva.—Lord Lieutenant's warrant, &c. on that occasion.—Administration of Earl Temple.

THIS kingdom having thus during the session of 1782 acquired such important benefits, it became only requisite to preserve their continuance. To this purpose nothing more seemed necessary than an adequate and faithful representation of the people. But, as the subject of a *parliamentary reform* belongs more immediately to a subsequent period in the political history of this country, we shall only at present observe, that Ireland appears to have been warranted in entering into the consideration of it, by the example of Great Britain, so early as the time now mentioned.

It was the opinion then of the present Prime Minister of England (Mr. Pitt), that such a reform was necessary in the British Parliament. In 1782 the people of England were zealous in the measure; at a meeting of the *Livery* of *London* that year, assembled in common hall, it was amongst other things resolved, "That the unequal representation of the people, the corrupt state of Parliament, and the perversion thereof from its original institution, were the principal causes

cauſes of the unjuſt war with America, of the conſequent diſmemberment of the Britiſh empire, and of every grievance of which they complained." The Livery farther reſolved, "That theſe grievances could never be removed, until the right of the people to their conſtitutional ſhare in the Engliſh government ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed, by a fair and equal repreſentation in Parliament, and a frequent election of their repreſentatives, according to ancient uſage."

Aſſociations were therefore formed in moſt parts of Great Britain to accompliſh this deſirable end; and the freeholders of the county of York, on that occaſion, preſented the following petition, viz.:

To the Honourable the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament aſſembled.

The humble Petition of the Freeholders of the County of York.

SHEWETH,

That your petitioners, ſenſible of the original excellency of the conſtitution of this country, moſt ardently wiſh to have it maintained upon the genuine principles on which it was founded.

Your petitioners further ſhew, that it is neceſſary to the welfare of the people, that the Commons' Houſe of Parliament ſhould have a common intereſt with the nation; and that in the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in Parliament, the Houſe of Commons do not ſufficiently ſpeak the voice of the people.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray this honourable Houſe to take into their moſt ſerious conſideration the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in Parliament,

and to apply such remedy to this great and alarming evil, as to this honourable House may seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

It is well known that all attempts to gain this reform in Great Britain proved ineffectual; we shall not therefore enlarge on the proceedings in that kingdom, especially as we mean to confine the present work principally to what relates to *this* country; it may not however be unworthy of notice, that two remarkable acts were at this time passed in England, one for better securing the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament, by disabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his Majesty's revenue, from giving their votes at such elections; and another "for restraining any person concerned in any contract, commission or agreement, made for the public service, from being elected, or sitting and voting as a Member of the House of Commons." Some fruitless attempts were made to obtain acts of this nature, and to restrain the influence of the Crown amongst the representatives of the people, in *this* kingdom—the majority of the Irish parliament was however at all times against the measure.

Before we return directly to domestic occurrences, we cannot omit to observe, that early in 1782 the contest between Great Britain and America drew towards a conclusion; this was an event in which every part of the British dominions was highly interested. In February, the House of Commons in England came to the following resolution:

Resolved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to represent to his Majesty that the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America, for the purpose of reducing the revolted colonies

colonies to obedience by force, will be the means of weakening the efforts of this country againſt her European enemies, tends, under the preſent circumſtances, dangerouſly to increaſe the mutual enmity ſo fatal to the intereſts both of Great Britain and America, and, by preventing an happy reconciliation with that country, to fruſtrate the earneſt deſire graciouſly expreſſed by his Majeſty to reſtore the bleſſings of public tranquillity."

To this addreſs his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to return the following anſwer:

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"There are no objects nearer to my heart than the eaſe, happineſs, and proſperity of my people.

"You may be aſſured that, in purſuance to your advice, I ſhall take ſuch meaſures as ſhall appear to me to be moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of both; and that my efforts ſhall be directed in the moſt effectual manner againſt our European enemies, till ſuch peace can be obtained as ſhall be conſiſtent with with the intereſts, and permanent welfare of my kingdoms."

Meaſures being accordingly adopted for terminating this unfortunate conteſt, a peace was at length concluded.

In September 1782 Earl Temple ſucceeded to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. The public was not yet perfectly ſatisfied with the *declaratory act*; and on the 11th March, 1783, the corporation of the city of Dublin preſented the following addreſs to his Excellency:

" *May it pleaſe your Excellency*,

" We, the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, in common council aſſembled, unanimouſly think it our indiſpenſable duty at this time to approach your Excellency with our ſincere acknowledgments for your prudent and indefatigable regard to the honour and welfare of this country.

" Your Excellency's early attention to the removal of all doubts relative to the independency of the legiſlation, and juriſdiction of the Parliament of Ireland, the general and œconomical reform introduced into ſeveral departments of the State, and the many great and apparent advantages we enjoy, and are likely to experience from your Excellency's wiſe, firm, and virtuous adminiſtration, muſt at all times excite and demand the higheſt expreſſions of gratitude, and make us earneſtly ſolicitous for the continuance of your government over a people affectionate to your perſon, and truly ſenſible of your honourable intentions.

" It has been juſtly obſerved, that all nations have experienced a period of exaltation as well as of depreſſion.

" From an ill-judging policy, this kingdom felt the latter; from the well-timed and liberal ſentiments which prevail, it is likely to attain the former.

" We aſſure your Excellency, that the citizens expect the conſummation of this great buſineſs from a nobleman of independent fortune and principles, equally the friend of Great Britain and Ireland, and ſenſible their intereſts are the ſame; and they moſt firmly rely on your goodneſs, that nothing in your power will be wanting to ſecure to this nation the complete and perpetual enjoyment of commercial and conſtitutional freedom.

" In

" In that perſuaſion we cannot but repreſent to your Excellency, that as the time is critical and important, no circumſtances whatſoever ſhould induce a change which might prejudice, but cannot benefit, this country; and your Excellency muſt be convinced there are ſituations in which the yielding, even to the finer feelings of the mind (however amiable in private life) muſt be conſidered as political error, and a deſertion of public duty.

" Your Excellency will pleaſe to receive this addreſs, not as the ordinary and common compliment paid to perſons in your high ſtation, but as the language of freemen ſenſibly alarmed, who highly approve your conduct and revere your virtues, and who will not behold with indifference the moment which ſhall terminate your Excellency's adminiſtration.

" In teſtimony whereof we have cauſed the common ſeal of the ſaid city to be hereunto affixed, this 7th day of March, 1783."

To this addreſs the following anſwer was returned:

" I am too ſenſible to this addreſs of affectionate regard, to anſwer it in the common expreſſions of good-will: my heart is indeed too full; I truly feel an honeſt pride in receiving ſuch a teſtimony of the ſenſe which the city of Dublin entertain of my zeal to promote that firſt object of my wiſhes, the conſtitutional and commercial freedom of Ireland. To ſuch an object I would gladly ſacrifice every private feeling: and as long as I can flatter myſelf that my exertions are acceptable to his Majeſty, or may be ſerviceable to this kingdom, I will hope that no circumſtances will prevent me from continuing to you that proof of my intereſt in your proſperity, which an unremitting attention to the great lines of an honeſt government can ſo truly give. But in every ſituation, I never can forget

forget how much I owe to your affection; and my conſtant prayer, my conſtant object will be, that the honour, pride, and happineſs of Ireland may be perpetual, and that it may be founded on the ſureſt baſis of a liberal and conſtitutional connection with your ſiſter kingdom."

The Britiſh Parliament, however, thought proper to put an end to all apprehenſion of future differences on this ſubject, by paſſing an act "for removing and preventing all doubts which had ariſen, or might ariſe, concerning the excluſive right of the Parliament and Courts of Ireland in matters of legiſlation and judicature; and for preventing any writ of error or appeal from any of his Majeſty's Courts in that kingdom from being received, heard and adjudged in any of his Majeſty's Courts in the kingdom of Great Britain."

The cauſe of this bill was as follows:—When the matter of eſtabliſhing the legiſlative and judicial independence of Ireland was under miniſterial conſideration, two ways of doing it had occurred. The one by a renunciation of what England held to be a right, but which it was ready to give up; which mode, it was foreſeen, might give offence to Ireland, inaſmuch as it was contended England never had any ſuch right. The other mode was by declaring that, though England had exerciſed the power, it had never been legally poſſeſſed of ſuch a right; but to this mode it was apprehended the Parliament of Great Britain would not readily conſent. The meaſure of a ſimple repeal of the declaratory act of 6 Geo. I. was therefore, as we have already ſeen, adopted, as moſt conſiſtent with the ſpirit of the people here, and the dignity of the Britiſh Government. After this the Parliament of Ireland proceeded in the exerciſe of their legiſlative capacity, to enact laws for regulating judicial proceedings, and for confining the deciſions of property to the Courts of law

law, with power of appeal to the Houſe of Lords in this country only.

Matters were proceeding in this manner, when a cauſe that had been removed by writ of error from this kingdom to the King's Bench in England, long before the repeal had been in agitation, and which the Judges there by the rules of the Court, were bound to determine, was brought to a deciſion. This unlucky accident created thoſe new fears and revived again that jealouſy in the minds of Iriſhmen, which cauſed the enacting of the Engliſh ſtatute laſt mentioned.

To cloſe all this political manœuvring, which ſeemed to promiſe ſuch national happineſs and proſperity to Ireland, a new order of knighthood was inſtituted, and letters patent were paſſed for creating a ſociety or brotherhood to be called "Knights of the illuſtrious Order of St. Patrick," of which his Majeſty, his heirs and ſucceſſors were appointed to be *Sovereigns*, and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the time being, to officiate as *Grand Maſter*. The following were appointed Knights Companions of the Order, viz. His Royal Highneſs Prince Edward, his Grace William Robert Duke of Leinſter, the Earls of Clanricarde, Antrim, Weſtmeath, Inchiquin, Drogheda, Tyrone, Shannon, Clanbraſſil, Mornington, Courtown, Charlemont, Bective and Ely. The Archbiſhop of Dublin for the time being, was appointed *Chancellor*; and the Dean of St. Patrick's in like manner, *Regiſter*—and Lord Delvin, *Secretary*.

On the 11th March, the Knights were inveſted with due ſolemnity before the Lord Lieutenant at Dublin Caſtle, and on the 17th of the ſame month (being the feſtival of St. *Patrick*, tutelar Saint of Ireland) they were inſtalled. Perhaps it may gratify ſome of our readers, if we give a brief account of the ceremonial of this *Inſtallation*.

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The proper precaution having been taken to guide the line of carriages and ſpectators, and the ſtreets being lined, partly by the regiments then on Dublin duty and partly by different volunteer corps, the Lord Lieutenant, preceded by his own carriages, containing his houſehold, the Eſquires of the Sovereign, and the Peer who bears the ſword of ſtate, and attended by a ſquadron of cavalry, ſet forward from the Caſtle, and was followed by the Knights Companions, each in a coach attended by their Eſquires; no other carriage, ſave thoſe of the Knights, were allowed to move in this proceſſion.

At the door of the cathedral of St. Patrick his Excellency was met by the officers of the church and of the order; who attended him to the robing-room. His Excellency alone being in the full mantle, habit, and collar of the order, the other Knights in the ſurcoat only, and with their caps and feathers in their hands; their mantles, collars and ſwords having been previouſly ſent to the chapter-room.

"As ſoon as his Excellency notified his pleaſure, the proceſſion was made to the choir in the following manner, viz.

Singing men.
Prebendaries.
Meſſengers.
Kettle drums.
Trumpets.
Purſuivants.
Pages.
Gentlemen at large.
Gentlemen of the bed-chamber.
Gentlemen of horſe, chamberlain, and gentleman uſher,
Steward and comptroller.
Eſquires.
Heralds.

Knights

Knights.
Ulſter, regiſter, and uſher.
Genealogiſt, chancellor, ſecretary.
Prelate.
Sword of ſtate, carried by ſenior peer.

Aid de Camp — Lord Lieutenant. — Aid de Camp

Peers' ſons.
Train-bearer.
Colonel of battle-axes.
Battle-axe guards.

Upon entering the choir the trumpets, purſuivants, and other officers attending the proceſſion, proceeded to their proper places, as well as his Excellency's ſuite. The eſquires, three a-breaſt, made their reverences to the altar when they came oppoſite to the ſtall of their knight, and then wheeled off to their reſpective places; the knights entered two and two, and after the ſame reverences proceeded to their ſtalls, where they remained ſtanding till his Excellency was ſeated, when they bowed all together, and ſeated themſelves. The choir then performed the coronation anthem; after which the uſher, king of arms, heralds, and purſuivants, attended with the three eſquires of the ſenior knight, went out with the uſual reverences for the inſignia of the order, with which they returned in the following manner, viz.

The principal eſquire, bearing the banner furled.
The two other eſquires, bearing the mantle and the ſword.
Ulſter, carrying the great collar of the order upon a blue velvet cuſhion.

When they had proceeded to the centre of the choir, they remained there while the four great officers of the order proceeded to the ſtall of the ſaid ſenior knight, after the uſual reverences to the ſovereign's ſtall: the knight then deſcend-

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ed into the middle of the choir, where he was inveſted with the ſword, the mantle, and the collar, by the chancellor and regiſter, after reading the admonition preſcribed, viz.

Upon putting on the ſword:—"Take this ſword to the encreaſe of your honour; and in token and ſign of the moſt illuſtrious order, which you have received, wherewith you being defended may be bold ſtrongly to fight in the defence of thoſe rights and ordinances to which you be engaged, and to the juſt and neceſſary defence of thoſe who be oppreſſed and needy."

Upon putting on the mantle:—"Receive this robe and livery of this moſt illuſtrious order, in augmentation of thine honour, and wear it with the firm and ſteady reſolution, that by your character, conduct, and demeanour, you may approve yourſelf a true ſervant of the Almighty God; and a worthy brother and knight companion of this moſt illuſtrious order."

Upon putting on the collar:—"Sir, the loving company of the order of St. Patrick hath received you their brother, lover, and fellow, and in token and knowledge of this, they give you and preſent you this badge, the which God will, that you receive and wear from henceforth to his praiſe and pleaſure, and to the exaltation and honour of the ſaid illuſtrious order and yourſelf."

They then conducted him to his ſtall, with the uſual reverences to the ſovereign; and he ſeated himſelf with his cap upon his head; after which the eſquire unfurled the banner, and the knights ſtanding up uncovered, Ulſter repeated his ſtyle in Engliſh, and a proceſſion was made to the altar, of the regiſter and officers of arms, attended by the eſquires with the banner, which was delivered to Ulſter, who preſented it to the regiſter, who placed it within the rails of the altar.

altar. After which, with the uſual reverences, the eſquires proceeded to their places, and the officers of arms proceeded with the eſquires of the ſecond knight in like manner as before. And when theſe ceremonies were finiſhed, the choir performed the Te Deum; after which a proceſſion was made in like manner as before to the chapter-room, and from thence to the caſtle, where the knights repoſed themſelves till dinner was ſerved; when a proceſſion was again made from the preſence-chamber to St. Patrick's-hall, where the knights took their ſeats covered, viz. the grand maſter in the center, the prince's chair on his left hand, the prelate and the chancellor at the two ends of the ſovereign's table, and the knights on each ſide; and the eſquires remained ſtanding till after grace was ſaid, when they retired to the ſeats prepared for them.

Towards the end of the firſt courſe, when his Excellency ſtood up uncovered, the knights roſe uncovered, and the king of arms proclaimed by the ſound of trumpet, that the grand maſter and knights companions of the moſt illuſtrious order of St. Patrick drank the ſovereign's health. The ſecond courſe was then brought in with the uſual ceremonies; after which his Excellency again ſtood up, and the knights uncovered, Ulſter again proclaimed that the grand maſter, in the name of the ſovereign, drank the healths of the knights companions. And at the end of the ſecond courſe, all riſing again uncovered, the queen's health was drank and proclaimed in the ſame manner. The deſſert was then brought in, and during it the officers of arms, with the uſual reverences, cried *Largeſs* thrice, and firſt proclaimed the ſtyle of the ſovereign, and afterwards of each knight companion, who ſucceſſively ſtood up during the ſaid proclamation. After which the knights, eſquires, and officers attended the grand-maſter to the preſence-chamber, where the ceremony was finiſhed; and the eſquires and officers retired to the dinner prepared for them.

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Government now took into consideration the case of the distressed Genevese, and it was proposed to provide an asylum for them in this country. Accordingly the names and numbers of the emigrants from Geneva being laid before the Privy Council, it was determined to fix a place for their residence at Passage, next the confluence of the rivers Barrow and Suir, in the county of Waterford. A very considerable tract of land in that district was then shortly to revert to Government, which it was therefore intended should be appropriated and granted in fee to the Genevese. This place was therefore now named "*New Geneva.*" The following warrant was issued by the Lord Lieutenant on that occasion:

To the Earl of Tyrone, the Right Hon. John Beresford, the Right Hon. Sir John Blaquiere, K. B. the Right Hon. Henry Theophilus Clements, the Right Hon. John Foster, the Right Hon. Luke Gardiner, the Right Hon. William Wyndham Grenville, the Right Hon. James Cuffe, David Latouche, Esq. jun. Andrew Caldwell, Esq. Travers Hartley, Esq. Alexander Jaffray, Esq. and Messrs. G. Ringler, E. Clavière, Du Roveray, E. Gase, Grenus, and D'Ivernois.

Whereas the sieur D'Ivernois did, by his memorial of the 27th of September last, represent unto us, that, in consequence of certain alterations which had taken place in the political constitution and government of the state of Geneva, a considerable number of the citizens and inhabitants, attached to the blessings of a free government, were dispossed, under assurances of the enjoyment of certain privileges and protection, to settle themselves in this kingdom, to bring with them their property, and to establish here those manufactures which had rendered the citizens of that state so wealthy; and that the sum of fifty thousand pounds sterling, British money, would be necessary to enable the first thousand emigrants to effect their purpose, of which a sum, not exceeding one-half,

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to be applied to defray the expence of their journey, and the carriage of their effects; and the remainder to be applied in the building or providing houſes for their reception: and whereas we did lay the ſaid memorial before the lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council, who, by their reſolution of the 27th day of September laſt, expreſſive of the importance of the object, and the advantages to be ſecured to this kingdom by the acceſſion of a body of reſpectable citizens, and to its commerce by the introduction of a manufacture ſo extenſive and beneficial, and by the immediate acquiſition of a very material addition to the national wealth, did unanimouſly requeſt, that his Majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to take the ſame into his royal conſideration, and to adopt ſuch meaſures in this caſe as to his Majeſty's great wiſdom ſhould ſeem meet: and we having tranſmitted the ſaid memorial and reſolution to be laid before the King, his Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify his royal approbation of the deſign aforeſaid, founded upon principles ſo truly intereſting to juſtice and humanity; and of his royal diſpoſition to induce the ſaid merchants, artiſts, and manufacturers, citizens, or inhabitants of Geneva, to ſettle in Ireland, under the conviction, that by their civil and religious principles, their induſtry, and their loyalty, they would materially contribute to the advantage of this kingdom:

Theſe are, therefore, to pray and to empower you to conſult together, and to report unto us what agreements, regulations, warrants, and authorities will, in your opinion, be neceſſary and proper for carrying his Majeſty's gracious intentions into execution, under the heads following, viz.

1ſt. For the grant of a ſum of fifty thouſand pounds to certain ſtate-officers, and to certain of the nobility and gentry of this realm, together with the ſix commiſſioners now in this kingdom from the Genevans—the ſaid ſum to be grant-

ed to them in truſt for the uſe of the Genevans ſettling in this country—whereof a ſum, not exceeding one half, is to be applied to the charges of their journey, and the carriage of their effects; to be diſtributed by the ſaid commiſſioners, in ſuch proportion as they ſhall think equitable, upon the conſideration of the circumſtances, the character, and the talents of each emigrant; and the remainder to be expended in the building a town, and ſettling them therein.

2dly. To conſider the rights, privileges, franchiſes, and immunities to be granted to the inhabitants of the ſaid new-intended town; and ſo ſoon as the ſaid general ſyſtem ſhall have been ſubmitted to, and approved of by us, then to prepare a draught of a charter, which will be referred to the conſideration of his Majeſty's law ſervants for their opinion, and afterwards ſubmitted to his Majeſty for his royal approbation, granting to the ſaid citizens of the New Geneva, the eſtabliſhment of magiſtrates, councils, or aſſemblies, with powers for regulating their internal concerns in ſuch manner as ſhall be moſt agreeable to the laws under which they lived happily in their own country, and as ſhall be agreeable to the diſpoſitions of the people; obſerving nevertheleſs, that, in no inſtance whatſoever, ſuch municipal laws, or regulations, be repugnant to the laws of this kingdom; and, in caſe that it ſhould be neceſſary to apply to Parliament for farther powers for carrying ſuch charters, or purpoſes into execution, then to prepare a draught or ſcheme of ſuch bill or bills as may be neceſſary to be ſubmitted to the Legiſlature.

3dly. To conſider in what manner a ſufficient portion of land ſhall be ſecured to the ſaid citizens of Geneva; to examine and recommend with all expedition a ſituation for their new town, and to conſider and prepare every arrangement which may expedite the conſtruction of it; and to report by what mode the perſons arriving in this kingdom ſhall from time to time be accommodated, until the new town, or a ſufficient

ficient portion thereof, ſhall be erected for their reception; as alſo, in what manner the ſaid houſes ſhall be diſtributed to individuals, or a ſufficient portion of ground to thoſe who may wiſh to build at their own expence; and in what manner the freedom of the new town ſhall be ſecured to ſuch perſons (having been citizens or inhabitants of Geneva, and poſſeſſed of thoſe qualifications of conduct and of morals upon which the ſucceſs of this eſtabliſhment muſt depend) as are not yet arrived or naturalized; ſo that, upon their arrival and naturalization, they ſhall be entitled to the benefits of the body corporate aforeſaid.

And whereas young perſons of rank and fortune, from all parts of Europe, reſorted to the city of Geneva, to profit from the ſyſtem of education eſtabliſhed there, under profeſſors of eminence in uſeful and liberal ſtudies and accompliſhments; and whereas a ſchool or academy formed upon the ſame principles in this kingdom would forward his Majeſty's gracious diſpoſitions for the encouragement of religion, virtue, and ſcience, by improving the education and early habits of youth, and would remove the inducements to a foreign education; and being conducted with that attention to morality and virtue which hath diſtinguiſhed the eſtabliſhments in that city, may attract foreigners to reſide in this kingdom for the like purpoſe, we do farther pray and empower you to conſider and digeſt a plan for a ſchool and academy of education to be eſtabliſhed in the new colony, and to make a part of the conſtitution hereof, under ſuch inſtitution and regulations, and with ſuch privileges as may beſt contribute to the ends hereby propoſed.

And we do pray and empower you, that, after having given theſe ſubjects in general the fulleſt conſideration, you do report unto us a particular detail of what ſhall be thought moſt fitting to be granted and ordered for the advantage and encouragement of the Genevans ſettling in this kingdom afore-

ſaid, and for the welfare and proſperity of the new colony, that the neceſſary repreſentations thereupon may be laid before his Majeſty without loſs of time; ſo that every facility may be given to the adoption of every meaſure calculated to give the ſaid citizens of Geneva the fulleſt proofs of his Majeſty's royal protection and regard.

Given under our hand and ſeal of arms, at his Majeſty's Caſtle of Dublin, the 4th day of April, 1783.

By his Excellency's command,

S. Hamilton.

The following letter was received by Mr. D'Ivernois, from Mr. Secretary Hamilton:

Dublin Caſtle, Auguſt 18, 1783.

Sir,

I am commanded by my Lord Lieutenant to acquaint you, that he has ſigned a warrant to the proper officers to make out the draught of a commiſſion, to be ſubmitted to his Majeſty for his royal ſignature, appointing the ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen who are to be entruſted with the ſettlement in this kingdom of the colony of Genevans, as alſo the draught of a royal letter, granting the ſum of 50,000l. to thoſe commiſſioners for that purpoſe.

His Excellency has alſo given farther directions to the Prime Serjeant, Attorney, and Solicitor General, to prepare a draught of a grant of a charter of incorporation for the ſaid colony, and draught of ſuch bills to be laid before the Parliament at their next meeting, as ſhall be requiſite for effecting the ſeveral purpoſes deſired.

His Excellency has at the ſame time commanded me to aſſure you of his cordial diſpoſition to the new ſettlement,

and

and of his intention to forward every meaſure which ſhall be neceſſary for the protection and encouragement of the colony, with as much diſpatch as the neceſſary forms in a buſineſs of ſo much importance will admit.

I have the honour to be,
With great regard, Sir,
Yours, &c.
S. Hamilton.

It was apprehended that this kingdom would have derived conſiderable advantage by this intended ſettlement of ingenious artiſts and manufacturers; but the event did not anſwer general expectation.

The appointment of Earl *Temple* to the Vicegerency met alſo with general approbation; the public expected much from a nobleman of his character; and during the ſhort period of his continuance in this kingdom, he applied himſelf to a diligent enquiry into the conduct of perſons in different departments, and the eſtabliſhment in ſome degree, of that ſyſtem of œconomy, which had been long deſired, and was ſo indiſputably neceſſary; but a few months terminated his adminiſtration here, for in April, 1783, he was ſucceeded in his important office by the Earl of Northington.

CHAP. XIV.

Diſſolution of Parliament.—A new one aſſembled in October, 1783.—Lord Lieutenant's Speech.—Vote of Thanks to Lord Temple.—His Anſwer.—Motion for retrenchment negatived.—Motion for an Addreſs to his Majeſty relative to military expences.—Arguments of Mr. Flood, Mr. Grattan, &c.

ON the 25th July, 1783, the Parliament was diſſolved, and a new one aſſembled the 14th October following.—The Right Hon. Edmond Sexton Pery was re-elected Speaker of the Houſe of Commons. The Lord Lieutenant opened this ſeſſion with the following ſpeech:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,**

"It is with more than ordinary ſatisfaction that, in obedience to his Majeſty's commands, I meet you in the full poſſeſſion and enjoyment of thoſe conſtitutional and commercial advantages which have been ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by your laſt Parliament. The ſacred regard, on the part of Great Britain, to the adjuſtment made with Ireland at that period, has been abundantly teſtified by the moſt unequivocal proofs of ſincerity and good faith.

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* Comm. Journ. Vol. xxi.

" It will ever be my wiſh, as it is my duty, to promote the mutual confidence of both kingdoms, and the uniting them in ſentiments as they are in intereſt, ſuch an union muſt produce the moſt ſolid advantages to both, and will add vigor and ſtrength to the empire.

" I ſincerely congratulate you on the happy completion of his Majeſty's anxious endeavours to reſtore the bleſſings of peace to his faithful people. The eſtabliſhment of the public tranquillity is peculiarly favourable at this period, and will naturally give ſpirit and effect to your commercial purſuits. Both kingdoms are now enabled to deliberate with undivided attention on the ſureſt means of increaſing their proſperity, and reaping the certain fruits of reciprocal affection.

" I have the higheſt ſatisfaction in acquainting you of the increaſe of his Majeſty's domeſtic happineſs, by the birth of another princeſs.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons*,

" I have ordered the proper officers to lay the national accounts before you. From thence you will be enabled to judge of the circumſtances of the kingdom; and I rely upon your wiſdom and loyalty to make ſuch proviſion as ſhall be fitting for the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's government.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

" The miſeries of an approaching famine have been averted by the bleſſing of Divine Providence upon the meaſures which the Privy Council adviſed; the good effects of which were ſoon viſible in the immediate reduction of the

price of grain, and the influx of a valuable and neceſſary ſupply to the market. Any temporary infringement of the laws to effect ſuch ſalutary ends, will, I doubt not, receive a parliamentary ſanction.

" Among the many important objects which demand your attention, I recommend to your conſideration laws for regulating the judicature of the Court of Admiralty, and for making a new eſtabliſhment of the Poſt Office.

" The linen manufacture being the ſtaple of your country, it is needleſs for me to recommend perſeverance in the improvement of that moſt important article.

" The fiſhery on your coaſts will claim your attention as a promiſing ſource of wealth to this kingdom, and the encouragements granted to it will, no doubt, be regulated by you in the manner moſt likely to produce the beſt effect, and leaſt ſubject to fraud and impoſition.

" The Proteſtant Charter Schools, an inſtitution founded in wiſdom and humanity, are alſo moſt eminently entitled to your care.

" I recommend likewiſe to your attention the propoſals adopted by Government for providing an aſylum for the diſtreſſed Genevans. It well becomes the generoſity of the people of Ireland to extend their protection to ingenious and induſtrious men, who may prove a valuable acquiſition to this country, which they have preferred to their own. But in forming this eſtabliſhment, you will doubtleſs conſider it as a part of your duty to avoid unneceſſary expence, and ultimately to ſecure the utmoſt advantages to your country.

" I

" I anticipate the greateſt national benefits from the wiſdom and temper of Parliament, when I conſider that the general election has afforded you an opportunity of obſerving the internal circumſtances of the country, and of judging by what regulations you may beſt increaſe its induſtry, encourage its manufactures, and extend its commerce.

" In the furtherance of objects ſo very deſirable to yourſelves, I aſſure you of every good diſpoſition on my part; ſenſible that in no manner I can better fulfil the wiſhes and commands of our gracious ſovereign, than by contributing to the welfare and happineſs of his loyal ſubjects. With an honeſt ambition of meriting your good opinion, and with the warmeſt hope of obtaining it, I have ventured upon my preſent arduous ſituation, and with ſentiments pure and diſintereſted towards you, I claim your advice and firmly rely upon your ſupport."

At the commencement of this ſeſſion a motion was made and agreed to, that the thanks of the Houſe of Commons ſhould be given to *George* Earl *Temple*, for the eminent integrity and wiſdom with which he adminiſtered the affairs of this kingdom during the period of his government, and for his unremitting zeal and aſſiduity manifeſted in every object regarding the welfare of Ireland. To this vote of thanks Lord *Temple* returned the following anſwer, directed to the *Speaker*:

" *Stowe, October* 23*d*, 1783.

" SIR,

" I am honoured with your letter of the 16th, incloſing the reſolution of the Houſe of Commons of the 15th inſtant.

" I muſt requeſt you to convey to the Houſe my ſincere and grateful acknowledgments for this diſtinguiſhed mark of their

their goodneſs to me; my feelings of honeſt ambition are amply gratified by the approbation of his Majeſty and of the kingdom whoſe intereſts he was pleaſed to commit to my care; and the only return which I can make for the flattering teſtimony which you have tranſmitted, is the aſſurance of my unremitting attention to the intereſts of Ireland, which muſt be ever dear to me, and my fervent wiſh for the continuance of the dignity and authority of your honourable Houſe.

"Permit me to add my fulleſt ſenſe of the very favourable expreſſions in your letter, and to aſſure you of the high reſpect and regard with which

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your very obedient humble ſervant,
NUGENT TEMPLE."

A motion was ineffectually made, that it be "*Reſolved* that the condition of this kingdom requires that all practical retrenchments be made in its expences, conſiſtent with the intereſts of the kingdom, and the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's Government."—The fact was, that the then ſtate of the *military* eſtabliſhment was conſidered by many as exceedingly burdenſome to the nation; and accordingly a committee was appointed to enquire into the application of the money granted for that eſtabliſhment, who having made their report—it was moved:

"That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, laying before his Majeſty the ſaid report; expreſſing alſo that an augmentation of his Majeſty's army hath taken place in this kingdom, whereby the military expences thereof have been conſiderably encreaſed.—That this nation hath been running faſter and faſter into debt, and notwithſtanding great

great additional burdens by new taxes, hath yet been unable to reſtrain the public expences within the limits of the public income;—and humbly ſubmitting to his Majeſty's royal wiſdom and paternal benevolence, that it is the wiſh and prayer of his faithful Commons, that the opportunity of the preſent conjuncture may not be omitted, for making ſuch reduction in the peace eſtabliſhment of the army, and ſuch retrenchment of military expences, as may enable his Majeſty's faithful Commons, by a juſt œconomy in all other points, to prevent the perpetual accumulation of national debt—a ſyſtem ruinous in the end to the moſt opulent nation, but ſpeedily deſtructive to a kingdom ſo limited in its reſources as this."—This motion was negatived—and we ſhall here ſtate the ſubſtance of what was offered by two of the principal ſpeakers on the ſubject.

Mr. *Flood* (who ſupported the motion) ſpoke thus *

"Notwithſtanding the late hour, and the ſuffocation with which we are at preſent threatened in this Houſe, and which will, I truſt, in future be prevented by ſome contrivance to admit the freſh air without danger of cold, I cannot avoid offering to your conſideration, a plan which will introduce a ſyſtem of œconomy into the ſtate, and thereby enable this country to avoid that abyſs of poverty and wretchedneſs with which, through the miſmanagement of the miniſter and corruption of his ſatellites, we are now threatened. A military reduction I conſider as affording the only ſolid ground for œconomy. To reduce the civil liſt, would be frivolous, pitiful, undeſerving the name of œconomy, and therefore ought to bring contempt on ſuch as would venture to reſt ſolely there—not that I think the civil liſt ought to eſcape the pruning hand of this Houſe, for every little will help—but ſo materially

* Parliam. Regr. Vol. II.

terially do our preſent expenditures exceed our income, that the whole civil liſt being ſtruck off, would by no means equal them :—to begin with it therefore is ridiculous—that this is the proper time for entering on this diſcuſſion no man can deny ; if we wait till the committee of ſupply ſit, we ſhall be told it is too late ; ſo rapid and conſtant too has our extravagance been, that no time ſhould be loſt in interpoſing on behalf of our country. In the year 1775 you were not in debt—in the beginning of the late war you were not in debt —at the concluſion of the war you owed but 500,000l. yet in the time of peace you quadruple that debt, notwithſtanding the people and manufactures were burdened with new and exceſſive taxation. Your revenue has encreaſed, and your debts have kept pace with it ; ſince the augmentation was voted, this has been regularly the courſe of things ; let the virtue then of 1783 correct the abuſes of 1762—the cauſes of which originated in the breach of the miniſter of the day—a man as ſubtle as he was crafty—a man who wanting natural, ſubſtituted pecuniary influence—who unconnected in this country, had great connexions to oppoſe ; thus ſituated, he at firſt carried his ideas ſo far that he applied for an augmentation of 20,000 men—but this was ſo truly laughable, that it was ſcouted at ; this unreaſonable plan was reduced to 15,000 men—but foreſeeing that it would not be eaſy to carry even this point at one ſtroke, he artfully introduced a reſolution, that 12,000 men were neceſſary for the defence of this country, knowing that we dare not meddle with the 3500 which we had always paid for England ; thus did we become dupes to his ambition, and were ſaddled with an army of officers, not privates—an army of expence, not of uſe—an army of the miniſter, not of the people.

" I know arguments will be found to prove that all this was expedient, and that the great number of officers and regiments

giments are neceſſary; but I will only aſk, would the King of Pruſſia (and though I highly honour and reſpect the Rt. Hon. Gentleman who commands our army, it is no diſgrace to ſet him the example of the King of Pruſſia) act ſo? No—I ſay, the King of Pruſſia, who is on all hands allowed to underſtand military matters as well as any individual now alive, differs widely from us in the regulation of his army; in it the proportion of privates to officers is not as ours is, nearly double to what it is in our army; no—we know that he has not one-fourth our number of officers in proportion to his troops. Some regulation to this effect might alſo afford ground for conſiderable retrenchment, and for one ſuch regulation it ſhould meet my ſupport, merely in compliment to the opinion of that great man; and his opinion we may eaſily collect from his practice. Now if the preſent diſtreſſed ſtate of our finances be traced to this ſource—if a faulty military eſtabliſhment, encreaſed by a more faulty augmentation, be the cauſe of our enormous debt, the time of peace is ſurely the proper time to apply a remedy; but that this buſineſs may not depend merely upon what I ſay, I have it in my power to apply to the records of the Houſe for corroborating teſtimony. In the year 1768, there was a committee (of the greateſt conſequence, if we conſider the men who compoſed it) to take this queſtion into conſideration; I ſhall call for their report, in which you will ſee the greateſt abuſes expoſed—you will ſee that our expences outran our revenues 150,000l. per annum before the augmentation, and that ſince that time we have increaſed in extravagance 100,000l. more per annum, making each ſeſſion 500,000l. increaſe of our debt; as, therefore, it is in this department our great expence lies, it is by retrenching this we can hope effectually to ſerve the nation, to prevent her from bankruptcy, and ſave her from ruin: and is there any man who will ſay this ought not to be done, or that it is not a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed?

" In the civil list we may indeed make some trifling retrenchments, but nothing that can essentially relieve the nation. Is there any man who will say, that 12,000 men may not be maintained as heretofore? No, nor will any man say that what we could save by œconomy and retrenchment, should be thrown away upon a military establishment, when it might be applied to other measures infinitely more beneficial to the nation.—Mr. *Flood* then moved, that the clerk should read the report of the committee appointed in 1768, to consider the military establishment of this kingdom and the expence thereof.

[The clerk then read at the table the report of the committee in 1768] after which

The *Attorney General* said, that the committee of supply, which would sit on Thursday, would be a more proper place for bringing on a business of the kind, as it might be there more fully and properly debated.

Mr. *Flood* said, that the present was the moment proper—that when there was no Irish mutiny bill, the committee of supply would have been the place; but he brought it on thus early, and in full House, that the Ministers both here and in England might see the inability of the nation, and be prepared accordingly; after which he intended an humble address to his Majesty, stating the report of 1768, and the increased disability of the country to maintain so great an army in time of profound peace, and humbly praying his Majesty to restore the due proportion between the resources and expences of the kingdom. He did not mean to specify the minute articles of reform, but in general words to say, that a retrenchment in the military establishment is absolutely necessary.

[The

[The report of the committee in 1768, ſtating the burdenſome military eſtabliſhment as the cauſe of the great national inability and diſtreſs, was then read by the clerk,] whereupon

Mr. *Flood* moved, That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his Majeſty, ſtating the ſame, and that ſince an augmentation has taken place, additional burdens had been laid on, by which we have been prevented from making any effectual retrenchment, but have much increaſed the expence of the nation.

Mr. *Denis Browne*.—I entirely coincide in the motion of the Right Honourable Gentleman, and if Miniſters do not, I ſhall expect to ſee them abandoned by many gentlemen who are at preſent ſeated around them, and many on this ſide, who are well diſpoſed to ſupport them in every effort for the welfare of Ireland. England now totters under an enormous debt; by frugality we may be enabled to aſſiſt her in the hour of diſtreſs; but by reducing our army we do not reduce our ſtrength, for, if 50,000 men were wanted for the common cauſe, we could immediately have them. If Government oppoſe this great œconomical meaſure, it muſt appear to this Houſe that their intentions and declarations are widely different; and I have no doubt but many reſpectable gentlemen, whom I ſee diſpoſed to concur with the preſent Adminiſtration, will abandon it.

I therefore conjure Miniſters, by every hope they entertain of ſucceſs, and the Members of this Houſe, by every tie that binds them to their country, that they will eaſe the nation as much as may be, of the military expence. The country whoſe circulating caſh is but one million and an half cannot bear the eſtabliſhment; this is the favourable moment to reduce it; we want not an army to defeat us, neither

ther do we want an army of obſervation, watching a favourable moment to enſlave us.

Mr. *Flood* was replied to by many Members, but we ſhall notice only the arguments of Mr. *Grattan*.—

" I riſe (ſaid he) to ſpeak on this ſubject, which has been frequently before the Houſe already. The queſtion is, will you withdraw from the common cauſe, that quota of troops which you hitherto have maintained? Are the circumſtances of the country ſuch as you think demand it, and if you are crazy enough to think ſo, will his Majeſty aſſent to that opinion? There never was a time when we could make reduction with a worſe grace, becauſe this country is now as eminently happy in trade, as Britain is the reverſe.

" In 1769, England poſſeſſed, almoſt unrivalled, the trade of all the world. She poſſeſſed America, and owed one hundred and fifty millions leſs than ſhe owes at preſent. Ireland had no trade at all, and her conſtitution was denied;—yet at that day it was thought wiſe to augment the army; and ſhall we reduce it now when we have obtained a free conſtitution—a free trade—when we have obtained a Judges' bill—a limited mutiny bill—an habeas corpus bill—when every thing we have demanded, has been conceded? Shall we in that moment withdraw our quota of troops? Before ſhe obtained thoſe advantages, we ſaid to Britain, that provided ſhe would acknowledge our conſtitutional and commercial rights, we would ſtand or fall with her. And when they have been acknowledged to the full ſatisfaction of every man, it is propoſed to withdraw the ſupport of our army.—Suppoſe inſtead of ſaying we will ſtand or fall with Britain, we had ſaid, " and when thoſe things ſhall be done, *(when " our rights ſhall be acknowledged and eſtabliſhed)* we will then

" in

" in return withdraw from you the ſupport of our army;"—and yet in effect, this is the propoſal at preſent made. I do not entirely agree in all that has been ſaid of gratitude; we owe no gratitude but for the plantation trade, but this we owe to England and to our own honour, *that we ſhould not depart from an old covenant.* The navy of England protects our trade, and we, as an equivalent, pay 70,000l. a year to maintain the troops deſtined to ſerve in the plantations.—This is not a dear purchaſe for partaking that which has coſt England ſo many millions. Has ſucceſs made us niggardly, and ſhall we become unkind to England juſt at the moment ſhe has ſhewn kindneſs to us? We have indeed held out the language of magnanimity to England, and ſhall we fail in the performance?—no, there are many other places to make retrenchment; we grant a penſion liſt of 80,000l. a year, yet complain of 70,000l. paid to an army—paid for the protection of the Britiſh navy. We may indeed make very great reductions in the army extraordinaries. We may make great reductions in the revenue department, and in others.—Thoſe reductions will, I truſt, far exceed the pay of our augmentation. Theſe are retrenchments that ought to be made—but the number of our forces ought not to be diminiſhed."

The Houſe having divided, there were for the motion 58, againſt it 132.

CHAP. XV.

Proceedings in Seſſions, 1783. *Protecting Duties propoſed.—New importation agreements. Dungannon meeting and reſolutions. Addreſs to the provinces of Munſter, Leinſter, and Connaught. National Convention aſſembled at Dublin. Bill for a Reform introduced by Mr. Flood. Debates thereupon. Addreſs to his Majeſty. Anſwer thereto.*

EARLY in the ſeſſion of 1783 it was conſidered that *protecting duties* were become neceſſary in ſupport of our trade—and indeed the manufacturers, particularly in Dublin, were at this time in a ſtate of great diſtreſs; the public was therefore very deſirous that this meaſure ſhould be adopted, and it was ſhortly urged by Sir John Blaquiere, Sir Edward Newenham, and others.

The *Attorney General* made the uſual motions for the new and old additional duties on beer, ale, ſtrong waters, tea, coffee, Eaſt India commodities, &c. to continue from the 25th of December, 1783, to the 25th of March, 1785.—Previous to which he told the Houſe, that as he proceeded, he would declare any alteration or new duty.

He ſaid, that in order to encourage the breweries of Ireland, an additional duty of two ſhillings and ſeven pence, per barrel of 31 gallons, was propoſed to be laid on all ale and beer imported into this country from Great Britain, which

which exactly charged British beer on the whole 4s. 1d. the barrel, the amount of our inland excise.

Mr. *Hartley* expressed a wish, that the beer, as well as every other manufacture of Great Britain, was charged with the same duty in this kingdom as the like manufacture from hence paid in England.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe* said, that formerly one shilling per barrel was requested as a protection, but refused; and he thought great praise was due to those who proposed such an effectual protection as the present.

Sir *John Blaquiere* said, he rejoiced to see one protecting duty brought forward so fairly by the minister. He looked upon protecting duties as the great means of raising the kingdom to consequence. He said he was such an old fashioned fellow as to be perfectly satisfied with the old constitution, and thought that provided due attention was given to the encouragement of our trade and manufactures, this country might enjoy every blessing under that constitution, old as it was. He thought also that the system of British ministers towards Ireland was much altered for the better;—he himself had been sent by a Lord Lieutenant that was extremely well supported and connected, to negotiate this very business in England, and the words of the British minister then were—"Don't attempt to touch the British brewery; to touch it is to injure the revenue of the state, and that you must not suppose we will ever consent to do." He therefore thought that the obligation to the present ministers for this favour was very great indeed.

Notwithstanding what was urged on this subject, and generally expected by the kingdom, the business of protecting duties fell to the ground; in consequence of which new im-

portation agreements from England again became general.

The *Northington* administration opposed both the protecting duties, and a reform in Parliament, the latter of which became now an object of general attention, to which the whole kingdom became now directed by the following proceedings.

On the 8th Sept. 1783, a meeting was held at Dungannon, consisting of about five hundred delegates returned from 248 volunteer corps in the province of Ulster.—Colonel James Stewart of the Tyrone regiment, having taken the chair, the following resolutions were unanimously entered into:

1. "That freedom is the indefeasible right of Irishmen and of Britons, derived from the Author of their being, and of which no power on earth, much less a delegated power, hath a right to deprive them.

2. "That THEY ONLY are free who are governed by no laws but those to which they assent, either by themselves in person, or by their representatives freely chosen, subject to the controul, and frequently returning into the common mass, of constituents.

3. "That the majority of our House of Commons is not chosen by the people, but returned by the mandate of Peers or Commoners, either for indigent boroughs where scarce any inhabitants exist, or considerable cities or towns where the elective franchise is vested in a few, who are thus suffered to place the highest trusts of society, against the interest and will of the many, in the hands of men who seldom act as if they considered themselves accountable for their conduct to the people.

7. "That

4. " That by the ancient conſtitution of our Parliament, elections for repreſentatives were for centuries ANNUAL, and in many inſtances more frequent, and the exerciſe of ſuffrage among freemen more univerſal.

5. " That every approach to thoſe fundamental principles tends to a renovation of, not an innovation in the conſtitution.

6. " That the elective franchiſe ought of right to extend to all thoſe, and thoſe only, who are likely to exerciſe it for the public good.

7. " That the preſent inadequate repreſentation, and the long duration of Parliaments, deſtroy that balance which, by our conſtitution, ſhould ſubſiſt between the three eſtates of the legiſlature, render the Commons' houſe independent of the people, procure certain majorities in favour of every adminiſtration, and threaten either an abſolute monarchy, or, that ſtill more odious government, an ariſtocracy.

8. " That therefore the preſent imperfect repreſentation, and the long duration of Parliaments, ARE UNCONSTITUTIONAL, and *intolerable* GRIEVANCES.

9. " That as the voice of the Commons of Ireland is no leſs neceſſary for every legiſlative purpoſe, than that of either the King or Lords, the people have a juſt and inherent right to correct the abuſes of repreſentation, whenever ſuch abuſes ſhall have ſo increaſed, as to rob them of their conſtitutional ſhare in their own government.

10. " That it is the intereſt of Parliament itſelf to effect a ſubſtantial reform, as the very exiſtence of that aſſembly muſt become precarious when it ſhall loſe the confidence of the people, to whom it originally owed its creation, and from whom alone its powers are derived.

11. " That we ſolemnly pledge ourſelves to each other and to our country, to ſeek a ſpeedy and effectual redreſs of our grievances, and to co-operate with our fellow-ſubjects in every exertion neceſſary to obtain it.—We call for the aid of every upright ſenator; of every man whether in Ireland or Great Britain, who bears, or wiſhes to acquire the title of a FREEMAN.

12. " That we have attended with admiration to the noble, though hitherto ineffectual efforts of thoſe illuſtrious characters and virtuous citizens, who in England and Scotland ſtrenuouſly labour to procure redreſs of ſimilar grievances. —May the examples of the ſiſter nations mutually animate the inhabitants of each to perſevere with unremitting ardour, until the glorious labour be finally completed!

13. " That a committee (of five perſons from each county) * be now choſen (by ballot) to repreſent this province in a grand

* The following gentlemen were accordingly nominated, viz.

Antrim Delegates.	*Armagh.*	*Cavan.*
Col. O'Neill	Earl of Charlemont	Lord Farnham
Lieut. Col. Sharman	Lieut. Col. Brownlow	Hon. J. J. Maxwell
Col. Rowley	Sir Capel Molyneaux	Capt. F. Saunderſon
Capt. W. Todd Jones	Lieut. Col. Sir W. Synnot	Col. G. Montgomery
Col. J. M. Jones	Capt. Dawſon	Capt. H. Clements
Donegal.	*Down.*	*Fermanagh.*
Col. A. Montgomery	Col. Robert Stewart	Col. Irwin
Col. John Hamilton	Capt. Mat. Ford, jun.	Col. Sir Arthur Brooke
Col. A. Stewart	Major Crawford	Capt. A. C. Hamilton
Col. R. M'Clintock	Col. Pat. Savage	Jaſon Hazard, Eſq.
Lieut. Col. Neſbitt	Capt. Gawin Hamilton	Capt. James Armſtrong

Londonderry

grand national convention, to be held at noon in the Royal Exchange at Dublin, on the 10th day of November next, to which we truſt each of the other provinces will ſend delegates, to digeſt and publiſh a plan of parliamentary reform—to purſue ſuch meaſures as may appear to them moſt likely to render it effectual—to adjourn from time to time—and convene provincial meetings if found neceſſary."

Reſolved unanimouſly,

"That it be an inſtruction to ſaid Committee, that the delegates from each county do prepare, and carry with them to the national convention, an account of all the cities, towns, and boroughs in this province: the mode of election at preſent in ſuch as return members to parliament: as near as may be, the proportionate number of Proteſtant and Roman Catholic inhabitants in each; and a conjecture of their comparative properties.

"That we are decided in opinion that the repreſentatives of the people ought not in future to conſent to any bill of ſupply for a longer term than ſix months, until a compleat redreſs of the aforeſaid grievances be obtained."

The following addreſs was likewiſe agreed to and publiſhed:—

To the Volunteer Armies of the Provinces of Munſter, Leinſter, and Connaught.

"Fellow Subjects,

"The tranſcendant events which our united efforts have produced, preſent an eminent inſtance of the protecting hand of

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Londonderry.
Lord Biſhop of Derry
Col. Rt. Hon. T. Conolly
Col. Rt. Hon. Edw. Cary
Capt. Leckey
Capt. Ferguſon
Monaghan.
Col. Chas. Powell Leſlie
Col. Francis Lucas
Col. John Montgomery
Capt. Wm. Foſter
Col. James Hamilton

of Heaven; whilſt the progreſſive virtue and the general union of the people, naturally prompt them to revive the ſpirit of an unrivalled conſtitution, and to vindicate the inherent rights of men.

"The moſt important work yet remains; which neglected, our paſt attainments are tranſitory, unſubſtantial, inſecure!—an extenſion to thouſands of our fellow-citizens of a franchiſe, comprehending the very eſſence of liberty, and drawing the line which preciſely ſeparates the freeman from the ſlave.

"Suffer us, therefore, to conjure you, by every endearing tie that connects man with man, with unceaſing zeal to purſue one of the moſt glorious objects that ever agitated the human mind—a reſtoration of virtue to a ſenate long unaccuſtomed to ſpeak the voice of the people; a reſtitution of the antient balance of our government; and a firm eſtabliſhment of the firſt rights of nature, on the ruins of an avowed corruption, at once the bane of morals, and of liberty.

"From A GRAND NATIONAL CONVENTION—diſtinguiſhed by integrity, and inſpired with the courageous ſpirit of the conſtitution, every bleſſing muſt reſult.——— With one voice, then, the voice of united millions, let *Ireland* aſſert her claim to FREEDOM.

"Through her four principal aſſemblies let her temperate declarations flow to one common centre; and there matured into an extenſive plan of reform, be produced as the ſolemn act of the VOLUNTEER ARMY OF IRELAND:—as a demand of rights, robbed of which, the unanimated forms of a free government would be a curſe, and exiſtence itſelf ceaſe to be a bleſſing."

"Friends

" Friends and countrymen !

" The eyes of an enlightened world are this inſtant upon us ; Munſter has in part already led the way ; and millions of our fellow-ſubjects in Britain, in whom the flame of liberty ſtill burns with luſtre, behold with delight our exertions in the common cauſe, and in our ſucceſs ſee the harbinger of their own !

" Let the reflection, that Greece, the ſeat of liberty and of ſcience—that Rome, the miſtreſs of the world—now lie proſtrate by the hand of tyranny, teach Ireland wiſdom.—To our deliberative aſſemblies they convey awful warning to be ſpirited, unanimous, and firm ; leſt the preſent wretched condition of other countries be ſoon the fate of our own.

" May the Supreme Ruler of the Univerſe crown his other bleſſings by being preſent with us—by promoting union and the love of our country among all ranks of men—and by finally directing our exertions to Virtue, Liberty, and Peace !"

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The aggregate number of Volunteers repreſented at Dungannon, was not leſs than 18,000 ; and as far as property and rank could contribute, this meeting was as ſplendid and reſpectable as the kingdom could exhibit.

The mode thus propoſed by the province of Ulſter, was adopted by the reſt of the kingdom ; delegates were appointed throughout, who aſſembled at Dublin on 10th November, when the late truly reſpectable Earl Charlemont was nominated their chairman. They proceeded to enquire into the moſt eligible ſyſtem of parliamentary reform, and having entered into a variety of reſolutions expreſſive of their ſentiments

ments on that subject, they requested that the late Henry Flood would introduce a bill for that purpose into the House of Commons. It has been said that the Government was at first seriously alarmed at this meeting of the National Convention, and that a Privy Council was summoned to determine on the propriety of arresting both the Chairman and Secretary of the meeting; but the measure having been considered as hazardous, another expedient was adopted:—It artfully contrived to divide the opinion of the assembly respecting the extension of certain privileges to Roman Catholics; and the common interest and sentiment of the people in general being thus disunited, the efforts of the Convention became ultimately abortive. *

On the 29th Nov. 1783, Mr. *Flood* moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal representation of the people in Parliament. This was immediately opposed by the then *Attorney General*. ‡ —"I do not mean (said he) to go into the discussion of the bill, but I would wish the honourable Member would now state the necessity there is for bringing it in at all, and also who those persons are who are discontented with the present constitution, and with whom it originates, for I will say if it originates with an armed body, it is inconsistent with the freedom of debate for this House to receive it. We sit not here to register the edicts of another assembly, or to receive propositions at the point of the bayonet: I admire the volunteers, so long as they confine themselves to their first line of conduct; it was their glory to preserve the domestic peace of their country, and to render it formidable to foreign enemies—it was their glory to aid the civil magistrate, and to support their Parliament; but when they turn aside from this honourable conduct—when they form themselves into

* Hist. Irish Affairs, vol. II.

‡ Parliam. Regr. Vol. II.

into a debating ſociety, and with that rude inſtrument the bayonet, probe and explore a conſtitution which requires the niceſt hand to touch, I own my reſpect and veneration for them is deſtroyed.—If it will be avowed that this bill originated with them, I will reject it at once, becauſe I conſider that it decides the queſtion, whether this Houſe, or the Convention, are the repreſentatives of the people, and whether Parliament, or the volunteers, are to be obeyed.—I conſider it as a queſtion involving the exiſtence of the conſtitution; and it is in vain, whatever may be avowed or pretended, to ſhut our ears and eyes to what every one has ſeen and heard—armed men walking bareheaded through the ſtreets under a military eſcort, courting the ſmiles and applauſes of the multitude, and meeting in the pantheon of divinities, the Rotunda—for we are told it is blaſphemy to utter a word againſt them—forming committees and ſub-committees—receiving reports and petitions, and going through all the mockery of parliament.—It is in vain then to pretend that this bill is not their mandate; and can any man who has the leaſt regard for that conſtitution which our anceſtors purchaſed with their blood, bear to ſee Government forced from its centre by theſe reformers? I think the time is now arrived, things are come to ſuch a criſis, that even our ſelf-preſervation, as a Parliament, depends on the vote we ſhall now give—this is the ſpot to make our ſtand, here we muſt draw our line—for we have retired ſtep by ſtep as they have advanced—we are now on a precipice; and to recede one ſtep more, plunges us into inevitable ruin.

Sir, I lament, for the honour of my countrymen, that they ſhould have choſen this period for introducing innovation or exciting diſcontent. What is the occaſion that calls forth their diſpleaſure againſt the conſtitution, and what is our preſent ſituation? Bleſſed with a free trade and a free conſtitu-

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tion, our Peers reſtored to their rights and to their lawful authority, our Judges rendered independent, the manacles fallen from our Commons, all foreign controul aboliſhed, we take our rank among nations as a free ſtate; and is this a time to alter that conſtitution which has endured ſo many ſtorms, and riſen ſuperior to all oppreſſions? Will the armed aſſociations, wiſe as they may be, be able to form a better, though they reject this? Before they have for a ſingle ſeſſion entered into the enjoyment of it, like children, they throw away the bauble, for which, with all the eagerneſs of an infantine caprice, they have ſtruggled; or like ſpendthrifts, they would make away with their inheritance before they enter into poſſeſſion of it. But I will ſay to the volunteers, you ſhall not throw from you the bleſſings you may poſſeſs under your happy conſtitution, cultivate your own proſperity and enjoy the fruits of your virtue, beat your ſwords into ploughſhares, return to your different occupations, leave the buſineſs of legiſlation in thoſe hands where the laws have placed it, and where you have had ample proof it will be uſed for the advantage of the country. But, Sir, it is in vain on the part of the Convention, to diſclaim their intent of overawing the Parliament; nay, I am told their ſeſſion is not yet prorogued, and perhaps they may meet on Monday to reverſe the opinion which this Houſe may give this night.

Sir, I call upon the Houſe to exert their ſpirit, and vindicate their rights; I ſhall call upon them in the words of a great man — "*Expergiſcimini aliquando, et capeſſite rem.*"

I appeal to the candour of gentlemen, are they ſure they come into Parliament to deliver their ſentiments as freely as they would do if they were not members of the Convention? or will gentlemen who are not, vote as free? Is it decent, while the Convention are watching to controul our actions,

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to enter into any ſubject that they can propoſe ? I have the higheſt reſpect for the volunteers as men, and for their former actions ; but if the queſtion appears to the Houſe as it does to me, the reſult of any reſolution formed at that meeting, it is our duty to reject it with indignation.

Mr. *Flood.*—Sir, I have not mentioned the bill as being the bill of any ſet of men, or any body of men whatſoever.—I am as free to enter into the diſcuſſion of this bill as any Gentleman in this Houſe, and with as little prepoſſeſſion in favour of what I ſhall propoſe. I prefer it to the Houſe, as the bill of my Right Hon. Friend who ſeconds me—will you receive it from us ? In the laſt Parliament it was ordered, that leave be given to bring in a bill for the more equal repreſentation of the people in Parliament ; this was in the Duke of Portland's adminiſtration—an adminiſtration which the Right Hon. Gentleman profeſſes to admire, and which he will not ſuſpect of overturning the conſtitution. I own from the turn which has been given to the queſtion, I enter on it with the deepeſt anxiety ; armed with the authority of this precedent, I did not think any one would be ſo deſperate as to give ſuch a violent oppoſition to the ſimple introduction of a bill. I now riſe, Sir, for the firſt time, to ſpeak upon the ſubject, and I call upon every man, auditor or ſpectator, in the Houſe or in the galleries, to remember this truth—that if the Volunteers are introduced into this debate, it is not I who have done it.

The Right Honourable Gentleman ſays, if the Volunteers have approved it, he will oppoſe it—but, I ſay, I bring it in as a Member of this Houſe ; ſupported with the powerful aid of the Right Hon. Gentleman who ſits behind me (Mr. *Brownlow*), we bring it in as Members of Parliament, never mentioning the Volunteers. I aſk you, will you receive it from us, from us your Members, neither intending by any thing

thing within doors, or without, to intimidate or overawe you? I aſk, will you receive it as our bill, or will you conjure up a military phantom of interpoſition to affright yourſelves?—I have not introduced the Volunteers, but if the Volunteers are aſperſed, I will defend their conduct againſt all the world. By whom were the commerce and the conſtitution of this country recovered? By the Volunteers. Why did not the Right Hon. Gentleman make a declamation againſt them when they lined our ſtreets, when Parliament paſſed through ranks of thoſe virtuous armed citizens, to demand the rights of an inſulted nation? Are they different men at this day, or is the Right Hon. Gent. different? He was then one of their body—he is now their accuſer? He who ſaw the ſtreets lined, who rejoiced, who partook in their glory, is now their accuſer. What has changed them ſince that time? Are they leſs wiſe, leſs brave, leſs ardent in their country's cauſe? or has their admirable conduct made him their enemy? May they not ſay, we have not changed, but you have changed? He cannot now bear to hear of Volunteers—but I will aſk him, and I will have a *Starling taught to holloe it in his ear*, Who got you the free trade? Who got you the conſtitution? Who made you a nation? The volunteers. If they were the men you now deſcribe them, why did you accept of their ſervice? Why did you not then accuſe them? If they were ſo dangerous, why did you paſs through their ranks, with your Speaker at your head, to demand a conſtitution? Why did you not then fear the ills you now apprehend? Have your Lord Lieutenants refuſed the ſervice of thoſe men?—Look back to their offers in Lord Carliſle's adminiſtration. Have not ſuch of them as could obtain that honour, been proud to be eſcorted by them to the ſea? And have not Parliament returned repeated thanks to this body of men, who are now ſo degenerated, that rectitude becomes depravity in them? Were not reſolutions ſought from them to give a ſanc-

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tion to the inadequate ſecurity of ſimple repeal? When betrayed into wrong they were cheriſhed—but now when right, oppoſed.

What do ſome of the greateſt men in England ſay, ſpeaking of the Volunteers? "That the hiſtory of mankind, the annals of the world do not furniſh ſuch another glorious example of patriotiſm and moderation;" and now will any man condemn them, if they wiſh to crown themſelves with never-fading glory, and finiſhing their labours by rendering perfect that conſtitution that their labours have acquired? Should you comply, it would for ever render unneceſſary the interference of ſuch bodies of men as they are. I am conſcious that I have not done juſtice to that much honoured, and much injured body of men; but be it remembered, that it was not I who introduced their name: it was not I who wiſhed to inflame your paſſions when I had not arguments to ſupport me: it was not I who wiſhed to debauch them on the ſide of fear—ſuch a proceeding ſhews the rottenneſs of the cauſe. If the Volunteers and Parliament ſhall ever be committed, which God Almighty forbid, no great thanks will be due to thoſe men who repreſent the Volunteers as endeavouring to dragoon Parliament—men who endeavour to exaſperate them, and if their moderation was not greater than the wiſdom of their accuſers, great and miſerable would be the confuſion indeed; but they have too much wiſdom not to deſpiſe their accuſers, though I will tell the man who accuſes them, that there was a time when he was proud to join in their ranks, and ſhare the glory of their conduct.

I am called on for an explanation of my plan of reform, in order that exceptions may be taken to it; but I am ready to explain it, and to refute all exceptions on the ground of reaſon and argument. As in this Houſe votes go by tale, and not by weight, and as the vote of the meaneſt wretch that

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ever disgraced the walls of Parliament, though representing the most venal borough, tells for as much as the most illustrious character, representing the first county in the kingdom, the people wish to correct the ill effects of this by opening the boroughs, and giving them an opportunity of being virtuous. This is the voice of the people, and it is opposed because it is the demand of the Volunteers; but the Volunteers and the people are the same; they have been made constitutional by every act, but that of being placed on your establishment, which they despise. Does any man say, that there is not a positive act of Parliament, directing every Protestant to bear arms? And will you say, that because one man fulfils more of his duty, as a citizen, than another, that he should less enjoy a citizen's privilege? Or will any man say, that because the Volunteers, in obedience to the laws, bear arms, therefore that obedience should strip them of their franchise?

But who will deny that the representation of cities and boroughs demand reform? And are plans of reform to be rejected, because agreeable to the Volunteers? If so, how came the Duke of Portland to send Volunteer Delegates to the Throne with letters to deliver into the sacred hand of Majesty? And if the Duke of Portland acted thus, will any man say, that the Volunteers have since done any thing to transform them into the gorgons and hydras they have been represented? No, they are not changed, they are seen through the medium of borough interest; it is this that has given them this terrible aspect, it is the sordid interest of a prostituted Government to say they have strength, though it be the strength of borough-mongers; but it is the strength of a virtuous Government to be supported by the public good opinion; and it is no credit to any Government to depend rather on a venal Parliament, than on the honest voice of an

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ingenuous nation. The bill ſets at defiance all objection; for is there a man who will ſay, however political declamamation may attempt to miſlead, that the conſtitution wants no reform? Will any man be found to ſay, that that conſtitution is perfect, when he knows that the honour of the peerage may be obtained by any ruffian who poſſeſſes borough intereſt?

Mr. *Flood* then proceeded to trace the general outline of the plan of reform agreed to at the Convention, and concluded with ſaying,—I ſhall neither endeavour to intimidate nor overawe the Houſe, but on the contrary, I ſhall moſt humbly hope, that in the infancy of your liberty, and becauſe a body of men who are determined to treat with reſpect that conſtitution which they have recovered by fortitude, bear arms for their country's ſervice: I hope, I ſay, you will not go to fiſh for objections until theſe people ſhall do ſomething derogatory of that authority which they have eſtabliſhed; no body of men can make me affirm to be right what I know to be wrong—neither will I be ſo abſurd as to deny that which I know to be right, becauſe other men think ſo too.

Mr. *Molyneux*.—This is one of the moſt important queſtions ever agitated in this Houſe, and I lament the ill treatment the motion has received from the other ſide, in the courſe of which ſuch illiberal reflections have been thrown on the ſaviours of their country, for their interference to reform a vicious repreſentation of the people. The queſtion is, whether Ireland is truly repreſented or not? The ſentiments of all are, that we are not truly repreſented, and this opinion has coincided with the Volunteer army, who have proved themſelves the ſaviours of their country. We have been told that no reform is neceſſary; but I deny it: Reform

is neceſſary—I am an inſtance of that neceſſity of reform.—Are not boroughs ſold at market like an aſs or an ox? Who are they that propoſe it? Some of the moſt reſpectable perſons in this kingdom, with one of the greateſt characters in this, or perhaps in any other kingdom, at their head; it is the voice of the people—it ſhould not be ſlighted; I therefore give my hearty concurrence to the motion.

Sir *Hercules Langriſhe* ſaid, that it would be paying a great compliment to the requiſition of the Hon. Member, notwithſtanding any partiality he might entertain towards him, if he were to ſurrender every faculty of his underſtanding—to ſhut his eyes at what every man ſees—to ſhut his ears againſt what every man hears—and this he muſt do, if he were perſuaded to treat this as a ſimple propoſition for leave to bring a bill into Parliament.

The Hon. Member has ſtated his plan, and it is unneceſſary to tell you it is literally the plan, ſhaped and faſhioned in another aſſembly, and ſent here through the means of two reſpectable Members juſt to receive the form of law. Can any man, without making a ſurrender as far as in him lies, of the rights and exiſtence of Parliament, conſent to the reception of it under thoſe circumſtances? We all know whence it cometh, and whither it goeth—we have read it in every newspaper, paragraph by paragraph, as it came out printed by authority; and we are now called upon to give up ourſelves, and take it as the plan and propoſition of two Hon. Members. I will never thus impoſe upon myſelf. I will never agree to the propoſition, becauſe I know where it originates. I will never agree to the plan, becauſe I know, and think, it would be ſubverſive of the conſtitution. I have a great reſpect for the authority of the Hon. Member who made the motion; but where is the authority that could

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juſtify a Member of Parliament in an attempt to demoliſh antient charters that have taken root in the conſtitution, and are the growth of ſo many centuries? Where is the authority that could juſtify us in extinguiſhing or transferring to others the rights and franchiſes of thoſe who ſent us here? Where is the authority that could juſtify an attempt to alter the eſſential principles of a conſtitution, which has been the admiration and envy of all nations and all ages, and which perhaps is the only one in the world that has preſerved political liberty to this day? And is there common ſenſe in your attempts to alter it at the very moment you have acquired it? To reject it, before you have tried it? I have conſidered this ſubject with all its conſequences. I have ſtudied the deliberations of ſociety in your own country. I have travelled over every page that has been written and tranſmitted to you from another country, by perſonages who were appointed arbiters of the conſtitutional deſtiny of Ireland; and I conclude in the words of one of them, I mean a noble Duke of great abilities, of great extent of thought, and great learning, on this ſubject, conſidering thoſe plans of partial reform, (and one would think the preſent plan was particularly in his thought) who ſays—"It proceeds on the ſame principle as the abuſe it pretends to rectify—it is ſtill partial and unequal—there is no leading principle—all is at ſea, without any compaſs to diſtinguiſh the ſafe from the dangerous courſe." (He recited the various plans and inconſiſtencies propoſed by different perſons, and ſaid)—On what a precipice you ſtand? How the faculties of the mind are loſt in apprehenſion, when you look down from the eminence of your venerable conſtitution, on the perplexities, the difficulties, the dangers, that are preſented to you by thoſe ſages of reform.—— When you ſee each caſuiſt differing from his brother, and almoſt every one differing from himſelf, if the ſubject

were not too ſerious, it would be laughable enough to ſee how thoſe doctors differ; they differ, becauſe they do not know the diſeaſe—there is no diſeaſe—the conſtitution is reſtored. I muſt do them the juſtice to ſay, they differ from the generality of advertiſing doctors in this city, they do not declare their medicines equally good for all conſtitutions, for ſcarcely one recommends them as ſuited to Ireland. It was lately your ambition to contend for, it is now your glory to have acquired, the Britiſh conſtitution. Now you have obtained it, conſider it well before you change it. There are ſome things too important for experiment, too ſacred for change; and if there be one thing more ſacred, more inimitable than all others, it is your form of government. If the people of this country would enjoy contentment, when they have ſo much call for it—if they would accept the felicity that is before them—if they would repoſe under the conſtitution they have acquired, and cultivate the country they have defended by their arms, we ſhould be the happieſt people on earth; or if they would condeſcend to reſt on their arms, and take a review, with their own eyes, of the magnificent objects that employ their repreſentatives, they would behold them with admiration; they would not interrupt their great deliberations; they would depart not only in peace, but in pride. They would ſee them arranging ſupplies, ſo as to inſure annual meetings of your Parliament—framing a mutiny-bill, to aſſert your conſtitution and govern the army—forming an Iriſh poſt-office, alike favourable to the revenue and to liberty—eſtabliſhing an Iriſh admiralty-court, with final appeal, the laſt pledge of external legiſlation—giving new authority to the laws, and new reſtrictions to prerogative, by an act of indemnity for a late embargo—deliberating on a wide ſyſtem of commerce between this country and America, with the great conception of making, if poſſible, Ireland the mart of communication between the old

old world and the new—they would ſee them anxiouſly and honeſtly conſidering how beſt to relieve the diſtreſſes, and promote the manufactures of this country. I will now tell you what they would not ſee them employed about. They are not aſſerting the ſupreme and excluſive authority of your Parliament—they are not reſtoring to your Lords their judicature, or to your nation its commerce—they are not reſcuing your Parliament from the bondage of Sir Edw. Poynings, or framing an Habeas Corpus act, or a bill to make the Judges independent—they are not overturning religious prejudices by acts of toleration, or inviting the wealth of talents and the world by a naturalization act. No, theſe are done already—theſe are the immortal trophies of the laſt Parliament. Good God! is the mind of man never to be ſatisfied? If a recollection of what you have acquired—if a contemplation of what we enjoy—if the proſpect of national improvement which lies before you—if theſe will not ſatisfy you, I can only ſay—happineſs is not the lot of man!—One conſolation however he may inſure to himſelf in every public or private calamity, that is, the reflection that he had no ſhare in producing it.

Mr. *George Ponſonby*.—It is ſo extremely natural to think favourably of this conſtitution, under which we enjoy, in ſecurity, our lives, our liberties, our fortunes, and the honour of ſitting in this Houſe, that the Hon. Member need not be ſurprized at finding his innovation ſo generally oppoſed. A gentleman indeed pretends that we ſhould receive this motion as originating in the Houſe, becauſe nobody elſe could make it; but does not every one know that the Hon. Gentleman is the mouth-piece of the Convention, and that this is their voice? Every one knows what has been doing at the Rotunda theſe three weeks; if there was no intention to overawe us, why was it thought neceſſary to bring to

the metropolis an assembly of armed men *boarding* Parliament? but I will not be overawed, I will support with my life and with my fortune, that constitution under which I enjoy every blessing. If we were to enquire very curiously into the frame of our constitution, perhaps some trifling imperfections might be found; but are we on that account to go round the world begging opinions? And because a Gentleman in Yorkshire thinks our constitution defective, shall we therefore overturn the whole? Parliament are adequate to the reformation of national grievances, and they have proved it. The restraint of our trade was a grievance—the dependence of our Judges was a grievance—the controul under which our constitution laboured was a grievance—the deprivation of the privilege of our Peers was a grievance—Poyning's law was a grievance—but which of these grievances now exist? Has not Parliament reformed them all? Some Gentlemen are so very nervous as to imagine the constitution is sick—why? because it is sick; but their state is so hopeless that no man can attempt a cure; for ti is impossible to administer to the maladies of a perturbed spirit.

The object of the Hon. Gentleman is to make our Government more popular, and in that point he admits the counties and the cities are tolerable enough—ungrateful counties, ungrateful cities—ye have not any of you called upon this friend of liberty to represent you, but suffer him him to sit here for a venal borough.

No man enjoys in any higher degree the talent of close reasoning than the Hon. Gentleman who made the motion, and as the instance of Shoreham has been given, I will submit to him, whether that instance, and its consequences, if authorities are to have any weight, do not decide in favour of letting our constitution stand as it is. The borough of

Shoreham

Shoreham had ſo long and ſo often been guilty of ſuch ſhameful bribery, that Parliament, though with infinite reluctance, was obliged to interfere with that ſacred, though abuſed truſt, a charter, and disfranchiſing the corporation, eſtabliſhed a new one :—Soon after this, a general reformation was propoſed in Parliament ; but did Parliament approve it, though ſupported by the greateſt ability ? or, did the Noble Lord who moved the disfranchiſement of Shoreham, approve of tampering with the conſtitution of the realm ?

There ſeems to have been propagated an opinion, that ſome radical defect exiſts in our conſtitution, and political reformers have heated their imaginations with many projects of cure : They have had from a neighbouring kingdom ſeveral letters—ſome of the anſwers have been ſhewn, though not all ; it is not the part of honeſt men to conceal the truth, but what have they at ſtake ?—yet this is not all, for after applying to all the ſyſtem-mongers in Europe, we cannot find any two of them agree in their plans of reformation.

" There are in this country two ſets of men, who are intereſted in promoting a change. The Catholics of the South, the known friends to monarchy—the Preſbyterians of the North, the votaries of republicaniſm ; theſe latter have ſet on the others to make it a common cauſe, and between them both the eſtabliſhed church is blockaded ; but if the people who have eſtabliſhed the conſtitution, ſhall be overpowered by thoſe who often attempted to deſtroy it, we ſhall have them quarrelling amongſt themſelves for votes, for ſeats in Parliament, for authority, and for ſupremacy.

Sir, I oppoſe the introduction of this bill, becauſe it comes from an armed body ; becauſe I and my anceſtors have lived happy under the preſent conſtitution ; becauſe that conſtitution every day gives us new proofs of its excel-

lence, and becauſe I do not think it the part of a man to throw away a poſſeſſion of experienced value, to run after wild ſpeculation.

Mr. Fitzgibbon.—I thought that ſome proof of the neceſſity of a reform would have been urged, and that we ſhould not be entertained with the flights of viſionary ſpeculatiſts into the regions of theory and hypotheſis; but we endure all this, becauſe the wiſe men of 1783 cannot reconcile certain abſtract ideas of certain ſyſtem-mongers in England, to the free and happy conſtitution of this country.

I do not oppoſe the introduction of this bill, becauſe it is replete with abſurdities, and directly contrary to the firſt reſponſe of the Dungannon oracle;—no. I will oppoſe it becauſe it comes under the mandate of a military congreſs. I ſhall take no notice of the manner in which the motion is attempted to be ſtolen upon us by ſurprize; we were to have had ten days previous notice of it. The Hon. Member who adopts and fathers the bill, tells us it is the favourite meaſure of the people; now I will undertake to trace it to its ſource, and ſhew that it is the production of a military congreſs aſſembled in the capital, appearing in military parade, and aſſuming all the mock order of a legiſlative aſſembly.—This plan of a parliamentary reform was firſt taken up by the ſociety called the Conſtitutional Society, in England, for the purpoſe of ſhaking Lord North's Government, when other engines had failed. Now, whether this ſociety correſponded with certain perſons in Belfaſt, is not well known, but this is certain, that in the month of July, forty-five corps aſſembled at Belfaſt, and there did reſolve to hold a provincial congreſs at Dungannon, in the courſe of the laſt ſummer, in order to reform the conſtitution of this realm. In the mean time, Mr. Henry Joy, jun. of Belfaſt, printer of the Belfaſt paper, and Secretary to the Volunteers of that

that town, writes circular letters to ſundry perſons in England and elſewhere, deſcribing what he was pleaſed to call the defects of our Parliament, in the Commons Houſe, of which he aſſerts there are but ſixty-four perſons freely returned—the others, the offspring of venality. Under this very flattering deſcription of the aſſembly which I have now the honour to addreſs, he writes to a number of perſons in England; whether he got anſwers from them all I will not ſay, but that he did get anſwers from ſeveral Doctors, and ſeveral Majors, is pretty notorious; and it is equally notorious, that with theſe anſwers, garbled and mutilated to his purpoſe, Mr. Henry Joy, jun. of Belfaſt, printer and Secretary, proceeded to Dungannon; there they enter into ſundry reſolutions, and vote that a grand National Convention ſhall ſit in Dublin, in November, to carry theſe reſolutions into effect. Theſe determinations they publiſhed, and tranſmitted to every county in Ireland; the Convention is now aſſembled in conſequence of theſe determinations—they have ſat three weeks—they have had their committees, and their ſub-committees—they have printed their reſolutions, every man has read them, and I have heard they are the moſt moderate that ever were entered into by fifty thouſand men in arms, with fifty thouſand more ready to join them; and will Gentlemen tell me that the conſtitution is not invaded, when any man ſhall dare to make a propoſition from fifty thouſand armed men, with fifty thouſand more ready to join them? Gentlemen ſay it is dangerous to commit the Parliament and the Volunteers; I know it is dangerous, I know the man that does it ſhould anſwer the crime with his head; but I know the force of the laws is ſufficient to cruſh them to atoms, and for one, I ſay, that I do not think life worth holding at the will of an armed demagogue. If ever there was an occaſion that called upon every man poſſeſſing one ſentiment of liberty, to exert it in the

the defence of the conſtitution, it is this, it is the preſent occaſion which demands to ſpurn this bill away.

The bill of laſt ſeſſion has been quoted; the motion for that bill was brought forward with due regard to the conſtitution, and proper parliamentary order; and what I would readily concede to an individual approaching our bar with proper reſpect, I would ſcorn to concede to men who preſume to demand, and let not therefore the Hon. Member ſuppoſe I fear to meet the bill upon its own merits, though ſupported by the united wiſdom of Mr. Henry Joy, jun. and all his learned and unlearned correſpondents. There is another circumſtance of idle babble gone forth, which only could have iſſued from the cells of Bedlam, that if this bill be rejected, ſome wretched fools will refuſe to pay taxes; this cannot be the language of men of ſenſe—I only mention it to let it be deſpiſed. I have alſo heard that a Houſe of Parliament is to be built at Dungannon, and that we are to have annual ſeſſions of Convention to regulate the buſineſs of the nation in Church and State. Gentlemen may call this liberty if they pleaſe; but I call it the worſt kind of tyranny. To put an end to it at once, I am for rejecting this motion for leave to introduce a bill, and then the men with whom it originates will return to their homes, aſhamed of having been ſo much miſled.

Upon a diviſion there appeared,

For receiving the bill,	-	49
Againſt it,	-	158

After the motion was decided, Mr. *Attorney General* moved the following reſolution:

Reſolved, that it is now become neceſſary to declare, that this Houſe will maintain its juſt rights and privileges againſt all encroachments whatſoever.

Ayes,

Ayes,	-	150
Noes,	-	68

Mr. *Thomas Conolly* then made the following motion, which was carried unanimouſly :

Reſolved, That an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to declare the perfect ſatisfaction which we feel in the many bleſſings we enjoy under his Majeſty's moſt auſpicious Government, and our preſent happy conſtitution; and that at this time we find it peculiarly incumbent upon us to expreſs our determined reſolution to ſupport the ſame with our lives and fortunes.

The addreſs to his Majeſty having been agreed to by both Lords and Commons, was tranſmitted in the uſual form, and the following anſwer returned :

" His Majeſty returns his hearty thanks to the Lords ſpiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, for their dutiful and loyal addreſs. His Majeſty receives with the higheſt ſatisfaction, the ſentiments expreſſed by his Parliament reſpecting his Majeſty's Government; and his Majeſty's faithful Parliament may reſt aſſured of his Majeſty's determined reſolution to concur with them at all times in the maintenance and preſervation of that free and excellent conſtitution, on which the happineſs and intereſts of his people of *Ireland* ſo eſſentially depend." *

Againſt the joint addreſs we have mentioned, the following proteſt was entered in the Houſe of Lords.

" Diſſentient.

" Becauſe we conceive that, excepting in thoſe caſes where conſtant uſage has rendered addreſſes neceſſary, his Majeſty ought never to be addreſsed but on great and important occaſions,"—

* Comm. Jour. vol. xxi.

" Becauſe

"Becauſe we do not know nor believe that any cauſe now exiſts to require or demand the addreſs which a Majority of this houſe has thought fit to ſend up to the Throne.

CHARLEMONT,
ALDBOROUGH,
POWERSCOURT,
MOUNTMORRES,

Upon the meſſage from the houſe of commons to the lords, to agree in this addreſs the previous queſtion was moved by Lord Aldborough, but oppoſed, and the following ſpeech was made by lord Mountmorres, in reply to the arguments of Lord Mornington, who ſupported that meaſure.

AT ſo late an hour, my Lords, I appear before you with reluctance; oppreſs'd as I am with the taſk of replying to the abilities manifeſted by ſo many Lords during the courſe of this debate.

To enter into a competition with the noble Lord (Mornington) I ſhould wiſh to avoid; the public intereſt may be promoted by our co-operation, but not much by our colliſion; diſcretion tells me, that among the candidates for public opinion and popular fame, Fortune like other females, uſually prefers the younger to the older claimant.

I ſhall give the noble Lord full credit for the diſplay of abilities: I admit that he has held a manly language. The character which has been drawn by a maſterly hand, by the great Speaker of the convention parliament (by ld. Halifax)—the character of a Trimmer, will not apply to the noble Earl—trimming will not be evidenced by his conduct; neither I am perſuaded will his lordſhip *Trim* upon this or upon any other occaſion.

To

To all the big works and inflated expreſſions which I have heard, of danger to the conſtitution, and inſults from Conventions of armed men; I anſwer in two ſhort emphatic words,—Prove it.

If formidable ſpectres, portending the downfal of the conſtitution, were to appear in this Houſe, I admit the noble Lord is frightened with a becoming dignity; the antient Roſcius, or the modern Garrick, could not ſtart with a better grace, at the appearance of a ſpectre.

But I my Lords, who am a plain man, of not ſo very lively a fancy, cannot ſee them; and am I ſtill to aſk what theſe dangers are, or how fancy can torture into danger two reſpectable members of the other houſe of parliament, aſking leave to bring in a bill for the improvement of the conſtitution?

A learned lord, (ld. Annaly) has talked of the illegality of the volunteers, he diſſented to the vote of thanks; I was one of the laſt who put on this garb in compliance with the deſires of gentlemen where I live—when it had become almoſt the mode and dreſs of this country. I muſt ſay a word upon that illuſtrious body of men and of their proceedings.

A noble Earl (Lord Hilſborough) has given you an account of their origin, from the letter to the inhabitants of Belfaſt—but I deny that the inhabitants *Belfaſt* of were arm'd by themſelves, for arms were ſent down by Government—and 500 ſtand were afterwards diſtributed by Government to the thirty-two counties, ſo that not only they but 1600 of the volunteers were armed and countenanced by Government.

I am not converſant with the black letter, to point out the particular act of parliament, but their inſtitution was warranted by the firſt of all laws, paramount and antecedent to every other—the law of ſelf-defence and ſelf-preſervation.

—To

—To the authority of the noble Lord, I oppoſe that of the great and excellent man in a ſimilar ſituation in another country; what was his opinion at the time of the riots? "Soldiers "are citizens; they do not loſe their civil rights by their "military ſituation; they may be called on by the civil Ma- "giſtrates as a part of the *Poſſe Comitatus*, to preſerve the "peace,"—Apply this doctrine to the Volunteers; if mercenary ſoldiers are citizens, how can it be argued, that thoſe have loſt their right of diſcuſſing conſtitutional queſtions, the birth-right of freemen, becauſe they have armed in defence of their country?

I do not ſay that any body of men have a right to dictate to parliament!—but I aſk the noble Lord, what law reſtrains the ſubject to propoſe queſtions for the conſideration of Parliament? has not that right been often aſcertained; was not the language of the commons of England deciſive upon this in the Kentiſh petition ſoon after the revolution?

My Lords, I have often been aſked in England, what were the number and deſcription of the Volunteers? To the firſt I anſwered, I could not tell but that the ſhorteſt diſcription I could give was, by the word clanſhip;—or, in other terms, gentlemen of property arming their tenants and followers; and in foreign countries, I anſwered to ſimilar queſtions, that every man who was capable of arming in this country, was armed.

I do not retract that definition; I remember the recent expreſſion, "the armed majeſty of the people;" I admired it, not only as an elegant expreſſion, but a brilliant truth, and according to my ideas, the people and the Volunteers are reciprocal terms, ſynonymous deſcriptions, and to ſay that you refuſe the deſires or petitions of one, is to negative the deſires of the other.

I know

I know not what new fears have ariſen; I know they have been recently thanked by this Houſe for their conduct ſince the laſt Dungannon meeting. It is true Lords are now warm in their approbation; it is but juſtice; their inſtitution marks not the leaſt brilliant page in the annals of mankind; and he muſt be cold indeed who does not review with enthuſiaſm an inſtitution, which would do honour to the Roman legions in the pureſt days of the republic, and which has cauſed the noble genius of Italy to appear once more upon the ſtage.

But, my Lords, I know not that they have even approached Parliament. A bill of reformation of the conſtitution, it has been ſaid, has been refuſed leave, in another Aſſembly, and has given riſe to this addreſs.

My Lords, I am frank upon the ſubject; I am no friend to reformation of the conſtitution; I admire it with reſpect and veneration, as the production of the experience of time, and the wiſdom of a thouſand years.

But if a man of ſuperior abilities, equal, if not ſuperior to any that I have ever known in this or another country, ſhould propoſe a plan to reſtore and preſerve the ſpirit of the conſtitution, I would ſay, do not condemn it unheard; let it reſt upon its merits, try it upon them; but do not let your prejudice anticipate your judgment.

My Lords, if many parts of the plan meet unanimous approbation, why is the whole rejected? if enlargement of franchiſe in decayed boroughs ſhould be propoſed, aſk the gentlemen of Suſſex, is it a new idea in England? Look at the new rules upon your code, in the days of Charles the Second, empowering the Lord Lieutenant and Council to enlarge the number of freemen in Dublin and other towns, and tell me, is it a new propoſition in this country?

If

If in two inſtances they ſhould forerun the practicability of co-operation with England, may it not be altered upon Parliamentary reviſion?

My Lords, a Right Reverend Prelate has mentioned the merit of the laſt Parliament in the reſtoration of our conſtitution. I admit it: but I deny their claim to excluſive merit; they ſhared it with the Volunteers: that inſtitution enabled their wiſdom to wield the force of an arrayed, armed, and efficacious people.

My Lords, the noble Lord upon the Woolſack has reminded you of the anſwer of the Barons of England to innovations, and their celebrated *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*;—he has not told you the occaſion, and I will ſupply it; it was upon a requiſition from Rome, to adopt the principle of the Canon law, that children born before wedlock ſhould be legitimated upon a ſubſequent marriage; it was an anſwer to papal encroachment. But the knowledge of the noble Lord in parliamentary records, will not produce ſuch an anſwer, or ſuch a negative, to the deſires of the people.

Upon the whole, my Lords, I ſee no reaſon, I have heard none, for this addreſs; I found my conduct upon the conduct of a great prelate, of Archbiſhop King, which has been read at your table. I am againſt frivolous and unneceſſary addreſs to the Throne. He was a great name in the learned, as well as the political world; his celebrated book dictates the expreſſion.—I hope this addreſs will not be the ORIGIN OF EVIL.

If there is any real danger to the conſtitution, let the Houſe of Commons expreſs and prove it; I will meet them; I will go hand and hand with them. I am ready to periſh in the ſeat of legiſlation in defence of its rights, as the Roman ſenators did when the Gauls invaded the Capitol. But if nocturnal

turnal addreſſes are brought up here, founded on imaginary dangers, and unreal phantoms; if I am forced out of my own province, and compelled to ſpeak of their proceedings, I will ſpeak to them with the frankneſs becoming my character and ſituation; I will ſpeak to them as our great Countryman, Sir William Temple, ſpoke to Charles the Second—I admire your ſituation as repreſentatives of the people; as really ſuch you are great indeed; but if you refuſe to gratify their reaſonble deſires, if you ſtifle the petitions of the people, if you deprive yourſelves of their confidence, if you ſeek to ſhelter yourſelves under the umbrage and protection of the other parts of the legiſlature, you are NOTHING;—nothing when contradiſtinguiſhed and ſet in oppoſition to the ſenſe, deſires, and opinions of the collective body of the people.

I have ſaid, my Lords, that the conduct of the Volunteers, or of the people, has been decent and moderate, I have not the honour to be a delegate; I preſume too much in being a ſponſor. But I will go further; their ſubſequent conduct will be as proper and as moderate, and the morning ſun, which ſhall enlighten this land, will ſee and verify the prediction.

CHAP. XVI.

State of public accounts in 1783. *Speaker's ſpeech on preſenting the money bills. State of manufactures. Proceedings of the Citizens of Dublin. Addreſs to the people. Petition to the King. Proſecutions againſt public magiſtrates. Second attempt of Mr. Flood to introduce a bill for reform. Debates thereon. Rejected.*

MR. FLOOD'S propoſed bill having proved fruitleſs, and the public hope being thus diſappointed, another attempt for Parliamentary reform was made the following year, which we ſhall ſtate hereafter.

Several printers of public Newſpapers fell under the cenſure of Parliament during this ſeſſion, ſome proſecutions were carried on againſt them, and the liberty of the preſs became now a ſubject of general conſideration.

It appears by the public accounts, that the national debt at lady-day 1783 amounted to £1,919,386 5*s* 7¾, and the penſion liſt to £.186,183 18*s* 2*d* The Speaker on preſenting the money bills in the uſual form, expreſsed himſelf as follows.

" May it pleaſe your Excellency,"

" Hiſtory can not furniſh many inſtances of ſuch remarkable wants as have happened in the courſe of the laſt ſeven years; of theſe none are more worthy of obſervation than the

the changes in the human mind, and the more ſo, becauſe they have been produced by cauſes, from which they were the leaſt to have been expected.—New tenets, more conſonant to the principles of humanity and juſtice, have been univerſally adopted in civil and religious policy; theſe are the happy but unexpected fruits of the calamities of war.—In other countries national benefits may have compenſated for national misfortunes; but it has been the peculiar felicity of this kingdom to acquire the former, without feeling the ſeverities of the latter;—to her ſteady virtue ſhe owes theſe attainments, and by her virtue I am confident ſhe will preſerve them, and tranſmit to poſterity unimpaired the *Britiſh* conſtitution, the very eſſence of which is liberty and order. Good government and liberty are inſeparable—they are neceſſary to and mutually ſupport each other, and neither can exiſt without the other. The Commons, ſince the commencement of this ſeſſion, have directed their attention to theſe important objects which were ſo wiſely recommended to them by your Excellency, to improve and ſecure thoſe advantages which had been acquired in the laſt Parliament; they have alſo made proviſion, without laying new burdens on the people, for the honourable ſupport of his Majeſty's Government, and for the diſcharge of the arrears upon the eſtabliſhments; and they have the fulleſt confidence that your Excellency will repreſent them to his Majeſty as loyal, dutiful, and affectionate ſubjects." *

The revenue ſtill continued to be unequal to the expences, and 300,000l. was ordered to be borrowed towards ſupplying the deficiencies; alſo 50,000l. was to be advanced as a loan to the undertakers of the Grand Canal, upon ſecurity given; and 25,000l. as a loan to Capt. *Brooke*, to ſupport and

* Comm. Journ. Vol. xxi.

employ the manufacturers by him eſtabliſhed in the cotton line at *Proſperous*, * in the county *Kildare*, upon his giving ſecurity for paying the intereſt half-yearly into the Treaſury, and the principal at Lady-day 1794. Theſe ſums were to be raiſed upon debentures, or treaſury bills, aided by one or more lotteries, at the diſcretion of the Chief Governor. †

In 1784 public credit received a ſevere ſhock, and our manufacturers being unemployed experienced the greateſt wretchedneſs. Thouſands crowded the ſtreets of Dublin in an almoſt famiſhed condition—and it became neceſſary to afford them ſome temporary relief by public ſubſcriptions, which on this occaſion were liberally entered into.

The populace however frequently aſſembled and committed unjuſtifiable outrage; they attacked the houſes and perſons of ſeveral ſhopkeepers who were ſuſpected of not adhering to the ſpirit of the non-importation agreement, and they proceeded after the American faſhion to the deſperate meaſure of "*tarring and feathering*." Some few fell within the reach of their reſentment, and received this puniſhment accordingly, and in one inſtance the mob proceeded to ſuch extremities, that one of the High Sheriffs, ‡ in endeavouring to ſuppreſs them, received a ſevere wound in the head.—Matters would have proved of ſtill more ſerious conſequence, had

* This village was newly erected, and deſigned by Mr. Brooke, for carrying on the cotton manufacture in different branches to an extenſive degree. The attempt unfortunately happened to fail. Mr. Brooke became a debtor to Parliament, and the village has ſince decayed.

† Clarend Rev. 114.

‡ Alex. Kirkpatrick, Eſq.

had not a party of the military, headed by another magiſtrate, fortunately came to the Sheriff's aſſiſtance.

As the principal objection to the introduction of Mr. Flood's bill for a parliamentary reform, was that it originated with an armed body, it was now thought expedient to attempt this meaſure in a way leſs exceptionable. The Sheriffs and chief magiſtrates were therefore now called upon to convene the inhabitants of their reſpective counties to diſcuſs this meaſure—and ſuch a meeting having been held at Dublin on 7th June, 1784, at which the High Sheriffs preſided, the following reſolutions were agreed to, viz.—

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the preſent imperfect repreſentation, and the long duration of Parliaments, are unconſtitutional, and intolerable grievances.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the voice of the Commons of Ireland is no leſs neceſſary for every legiſlative purpoſe, than that of either the Sovereign or the Lords; and therefore the people claim it as their juſt, inherent, and unalienable privilege, to correct abuſes in the repreſentation, whenever ſuch abuſes ſhall have ſo encreaſed as to deprive them of their conſtitutional ſhare in their own government.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the people of Ireland have, and always had a clear, unalienable, indefeaſible right to a frequency of election, as well as to an adequate and equal repreſentation, founded upon ſtronger grounds than that of any act or acts of Parliament; and that the attainment of thoſe conſtitutional important objects, is the moſt effectual expedient for reſtoring and ſecuring the independence of Parliament.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the preſent inadequate repreſentation, and the long duration of Parliaments, deſtroy

that balance which by our conſtitution ſhould ſubſiſt between the three eſtates of the Legiſlature, render the members of the Houſe of Commons independent of the people, procure determined majorities in favour of every Adminiſtration, and threaten either an abſolute monarchy, or that ſtill more odious government, a tyrannical ariſtocracy.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the majority of the Houſe of Commons is not choſen by the people, but returned by the mandates of Peers of the realm and others, either for indigent boroughs, where ſcarce any inhabitants reſide, or for conſiderable cities and towns, where the elective power is veſted in a few.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the venality and corruption of the preſent Houſe of Commons, evinced by the many arbitrary acts paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, and the contempt and indignity with which they treated the applications and petitions of the conſtituent body, oblige us now to requeſt the people at large to unite with us in the attainment of a more adequate repreſentation, and in petitions to the Throne for a diſſolution of the preſent Parliament.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the ſtrength of a nation conſiſts in the union of its inhabitants.

Reſolved (with one diſſenting voice), That a participation in general rights muſt for ever engage mankind to operate moſt effectually for each other.

Reſolved therefore (with one diſſenting voice), That to extend the right of ſuffrage to our Roman Catholic brethren, STILL PRESERVING IN ITS FULLEST EXTENT THE PRESENT PROTESTANT GOVERNMENT of this country, would be a meaſure fraught with the happieſt conſequences, and would be highly conducive to civil liberty.

Reſolved

Reſolved unanimouſly, that a committee of 21 Gentlemen be now appointed to prepare an addreſs to the people, requeſting their co-operation with us; and alſo, a petition to his Majeſty, ſtating our grievances, and praying a diſſolution of the preſent corrupt Parliament, in whom we cannot place any truſt or confidence, and that they report the ſame to this body on Monday the 21ſt June inſt.

The Committee having at a future meeting made their report, the following addreſs to the people of Ireland was agreed to and publiſhed:—

Friends and Countrymen,

Permit us, the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, with all the affection due to fellow-ſubjects, and that anxiety which every citizen muſt feel for his native country, to addreſs you on the moſt important ſubject that ever engroſſed the attention of a free people.

Long and painfully have we endured, in common with you all, the miſeries ariſing from the abuſe of power, and the well-known defects in the preſent ſtate of repreſentation in the Commons Houſe of Parliament—defects, tending to the total annihilation of our boaſted form of government; and productive of the higheſt oppreſſion to the inhabitants of this loyal and independent nation.

It is with reluctance we find ourſelves compelled to enter into a detail of grievances, which being felt by all, cannot be unknown to any.—But whilſt we conſider it prudent to juſtify our proceedings to the world, we muſt intreat your indulgence, if we ſtate particulars which might otherwiſe be thought unneceſſary.

Perfectly ſenſible muſt you be of that ariſtocratic influence which has rendered the repreſentation of the people

merely nominal, and deſtroyed that equal balance in the three eſtates of the legiſlature, on which alone depends the exiſtence of our glorious conſtitution.—You have beheld the charters granted to divers boroughs in this kingdom, intitling the bodies thereby incorporated to a return of repreſentatives, abuſed and perverted to the moſt deſtructive purpoſes—inſomuch that the intention of the Crown in eſtabliſhing theſe borough towns, has been fruſtrated by the artful practices of deſigning men :—And perſons returned to Parliament from depopulated places, where ſcarce any inhabitants exiſt, or for conſiderable cities and towns, where the elective franchiſe is confined to a few.—Nor is it leſs notorious that the proprietors of the ſoil, where ſuch depopulated boroughs once ſtood, have dared to uſurp a power of ſelling ſeats to Members in the preſent Houſe of Commons, and by ſuch unwarrantable and corrupt means have thoſe purchaſers become illegal repreſentatives of the people.

Convinced by dear-bought experience of the many evils from hence ariſing, we have joined in every meaſure to obtain redreſs, which has hitherto been pointed out to us by the complaining voice of an injured and inſulted kingdom—but unhappily we have as yet found every attempt ineffectual to reſtore the conſtitution to its pure and primitive principles.

In vain did the noble aſſertors of liberty, compoſing the Volunteer army of Ireland—(arrayed and embodied at their own expence,—the unexampled protectors of their country againſt foreign foes and domeſtic uſurpation)—adjuſt by their delegates, agreeable to the deſire of this nation, a more equal repreſentation, ſolemnly and deliberately agreed upon.—In vain did the united voice of the electors of this kingdom, through every free county, city, and borough, declare itſelf in favour of ſuch plan of reform—and inſtruct their ſeveral repreſentatives to ſupport the ſame.—In vain

was

was an attempt made by the real friends of their country to introduce such plan into Parliament, and obtain it the sanction of a law.—The baneful influence of corruption and venality prevented any success; and with equal folly and audacity, were the justifiable demands of the people treated with ignominy and contempt.

Had the persons thus obtruded into the Parliament of this kingdom considered it with a due degree of justice and moderation, possibly the legality of their title to a share in its legislature might have remained unexamined or at least uncontroverted. But when usurpation is followed by injury and insult, that nation must be composed of slaves indeed, which can tamely submit, without any exertion in its defence.

But the policy of our oppressors lost sight of this principle —and not content with the exercise of an authority unconstitutionally derived, they have extended it to the entire destruction of our most valuable rights, and our civil and commercial interests.

Hence it is that during the last session of Parliament the most wanton and reiterated acts of oppression have been multiplied—personal liberty has been rendered insecure—protecting duties (adopted by every wise nation) refused—our chartered rights infringed—the subject unconstitutionally and illegally imprisoned—the trial by jury in many instances suspended—the freedom of the press (that grand palladium of all our liberties) violated—an infamous power given to expose and restrain private correspondence—a large standing army kept up in the time of profound peace—that badge of slavery the stamp act, so disgracefully altered, as to make it a still greater grievance—and taxation unnecessarily augmented, to the general ruin of the nation.——Such are the proceedings of a Parliament in which the Members of the House

of

of Commons do not really repreſent the people—but have become the repreſentation of an overgrown and overbearing ariſtocracy, raiſed upon the ruins of our rights and privileges; whereby the original purpoſe of the democratic branch of the legiſlature is defeated—the conſtitution effectually deſtroyed—and inſtead of being a ſhield againſt unneceſſary taxation, the Commons are rendered the hired inſtrument to pillage an already impoveriſhed and diſtreſſed people.

Thus, fellow-ſubjects and countrymen, is all confidence in Parliament, and the dignity thereof, deſtroyed—the truſt of repreſentation betrayed—the inſtructions of the conſtituent body of the people diſobeyed—commercial intereſts neglected—and emigration conſequently promoted, to the great diſcouragement of population and the diminution of the national wealth; and thus doth experience evince, that a Houſe of Commons under the undue influence of either of the two other branches of the Legiſlature, is ever ready to betray the moſt ſacred rights of the people; and we find that Parliaments choſen as they now are, and continuing for eight years as they now do, will ever be compoſed for the moſt part of perſons under the guidance of particular noblemen and others, ſolely aiming at and perpetually contending for the power and emoluments of office.

Enjoying the advantages lately held out to us by our ſiſter kingdom, who with equal juſtice and magnanimity, unequivocally acknowledged and reſtored to us our right of excluſive legiſlature, and to maintain a ſtrict amity with whom, is not leſs our inclination than our intereſt, we have to regret that internal ſituation of our own country—that corruption and venality which pervades our Senate, and thoſe defects already pointed out in our Legiſlature, which prevent our purſuing means, that under the free enjoyment of our conſtitution, and with the prudent direction of virtuous rulers, might render us a proſperous, happy, and united kingdom.

Failing

Failing in every other mode of redreſs, we have been now induced to approach the Throne, by an humble petition, praying the diſſolution of the preſent Parliament, and ſeeking that relief from our moſt gracious Sovereign, which has been indignantly and intemperately refuſed by thoſe who aſſume to be the delegated ſervants of the people. Nor do we doubt of ſucceſs, if, meeting with the approbation of our fellow-ſubjects (which can alone render effectual this ſalutary and neceſſary meaſure), we ſhall be ſupported by their warm and zealous co-operation in bringing thoſe national grievances to the ear of Majeſty.

Convinced of the neceſſity, we cannot however preſume to point out any ſpecific mode for a parliamentary reform in the repreſentation of the people:—That, in which ALL are equally concerned, muſt receive from ALL their approbation and ſupport. We call upon you therefore, and thus conjure you, that in this important work you join with us as fellow-ſubjects, countrymen, and friends, as men embarked in the general cauſe, to remove a general calamity; and for this we propoſe that five perſons be elected from each county, city, and great town in this kingdom, to meet in national congreſs at ſome convenient place in this city on Monday the 25th day of October next, there to deliberate, digeſt and determine on ſuch meaſures as may ſeem to them moſt conducive to re-eſtabliſh the conſtitution on a pure and permanent baſis, and ſecure to the inhabitants of this kingdom peace, liberty, and ſafety.

And whilſt we thus contend, as far as in us lies, for our conſtitutional rights and privileges, we recommend to your conſideration the ſtate of our ſuffering fellow-ſubjects, the Roman Catholics of this kingdom, whoſe emancipation from the reſtraints under which they ſtill labour, we conſider not only as equitable, but eſſentially conducive to the general union and proſperity of the kingdom.

Truſting

Truſting with the moſt perfect confidence in your concurrence and ſupport, we entertain the ſtrongeſt hopes of freeing our country from that yoke of bondage, which domeſtic enemies have thus impoſed on it. The majeſty of the people will then re-aſſume its proper influence in the guidance of the State; and Divine Providence, knowing the juſtice of our cauſe, will graciouſly aſſiſt us in obtaining thoſe rights to which we are entitled by the laws of GOD and NATURE.

ALEX. KIRKPATRICK, Jun. }
BENJAMIN SMITH, } Sheriffs.

The following is a copy of the petition or remonſtrance to his Majeſty, which was alſo agreed to by the aggregate meeting:——

To the KING's Moſt Excellent Majeſty.

The humble Petition of the Freemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the City of Dublin.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

Permit us, your loyal and dutiful ſubjects, with every ſentiment of duty and attachment to your Majeſty's perſon, family, and government, to approach the throne with the greateſt reſpect and humility, to lay a national grievance of the higheſt importance to your crown and dignity, and to the liberties and properties of your people of Ireland, at your Majeſty's feet.

The grievance your diſtreſſed ſubjects thus humbly preſume to lay before your Majeſty, is the preſent illegal and inadequate repreſentation of the people of this kingdom in Parliament—illegal, becauſe the returns of Members for boroughs are not agreeable to the charters granted for that purpoſe by the Crown; and inadequate, becauſe there are as many

many Members returned for each of thoſe boroughs, by a few voters, as are returned for any county or city in this kingdom.

Born in a country where your petitioners, from their earlieſt infancy, were taught to believe the laws for their government paſſed through a Houſe of Commons elected by the people, they conceived their liberties founded on the moſt firm baſis; but finding laws paſſed, inimical as well to your Majeſty's crown as their rights (which are inſeparable), they were led into a minute enquiry of the cauſe, and diſcovering the ſame to proceed from the preſent inſufficient mode of repreſentation, and the long duration of Parliament, which render even the few Members who are conſtitutionally elected, nearly independent of their conſtituents—they now moſt humbly beg leave to inform your Majeſty, that men thus elected ceaſe to have any weight with your people.

It is to the grand cauſe of ariſtocratic influence (jealous, as all inordinate power muſt be, of whatever may tend to ſhake its eſtabliſhment), and to the miſrepreſentations which have been tranſmitted to your Majeſty, of your faithful ſubjects of Ireland, that we attribute many arbitrary and alarming proceedings in the laſt ſeſſion of our Parliament.

A bill for the more equal repreſentation of the people (the deſire of millions of your faithful ſubjects), has been refuſed even a diſcuſſion in our Parliament.

Protection has been denied to our infant trade and manufactures, which England thinks neceſſary to the maturity and vigour of hers.

A violent attack has been made on the liberty of the preſs—that ſupplement to the laws, and palladium of liberty—a terror only to tyrants and apoſtates.

Alarming

Alarming reſtrictions on the commercial and friendly communications of your Majeſty's ſubjects, have been impoſed by the poſt-office act.

A general ſyſtem of prodigality ſeems to have been adopted, for the purpoſe of burdening our trade, and damping all ſpirit of induſtry: and emigrations conſequently encouraged, and now encreaſing to an alarming degree.

A manifeſt infringement has been made on the ancient and ſacred charters of the capital of this realm; and inſtead of the conſtitutional trial by jury, a novel tribunal inſtituted, from whoſe ſentence there lies no appeal.

It is with infinite concern we are obliged to add, that your Majeſty's Miniſters in this kingdom have aſſiſted in all the meaſures of which we thus humbly complain—a circumſtance the more extraordinary, as your Majeſty has lately thought it neceſſary to appeal to the Britiſh electors at large, againſt the power of an ariſtocracy,—and as your Majeſty's firſt Miniſter in England has virtuouſly declared himſelf friendly to the principal meaſure which has been here rejected—we mean a more equal repreſentation of the people—convinced that an overbearing ariſtocracy is not leſs hoſtile to the liberties of the ſubject, than to the prerogative of the Crown.

We farther entreat your Majeſty's permiſſion to condemn that remnant of the penal code of laws, which ſtill oppreſſes our Roman Catholic fellow-ſubjects; laws which tend to prohibit education and liberality, reſtrain certain privileges, and to proſcribe induſtry, love of liberty, and patriotiſm.

Deeply affected by theſe national calamities, we, your Majeſty's faithful and loyal ſubjects, the citizens of Dublin, do therefore moſt humbly beg leave to ſupplicate your Majeſty, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed to exerciſe your royal

royal inclination to adopt with decision and effect, whatever your Majesty should collect to be the sense of the people.

That your Majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign, over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your several dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer.

Signed by order,

ALEX. KIRKPATRICK.
BENJAMIN SMITH.

This petition was presented to the Lord Lieutenant * by the High Sheriffs, with an address to his Excellency requesting it might be transmitted; to which they received the following answer:

"GENTLEMEN,

"At the same time that I comply with your request, in transmitting to his Majesty a paper signed by you, entitled a petition of the freemen, freeholders, and inhabitants of the city of Dublin, I shall not fail to convey my entire disapprobation of it, as casting unjust reflections upon the laws and Parliament of Ireland, and tending to weaken the authority of both."

These proceedings of the city of Dublin were seconded by other parts of the kingdom; but the whole was frustrated by the interposition of Government, and prosecutions by information, &c. were commenced against different persons by whom such aggregate meetings had been assembled. The High Sheriff of the county of Dublin (then Henry Stevens Reilly,

* The Duke of Rutland was at this time Viceroy, having succeeded Lord Northington in Feb. 1784.

Reilly, Esq.), was sentenced to fine and imprisonment by the Court of King's Bench; however, after a few days confinement, he was liberated, and the fine reduced, on acknowledging his error, and making a public apology in that Court.

Though Mr. Flood failed in the manner before stated, in bringing forward his intended bill of reform, he nevertheless soon afterwards made another attempt, and moved in the House of Commons for leave to bring in "a bill to rectify certain defects in the representation of the people." After some debate leave was given, and the bill being accordingly introduced, a further debate commenced upon the third reading of it: this was began by Mr. *John Monck Mason*.—* "I shall leave it (said he) to other Gentlemen to point out to the House the absurdities of the plan that is now before you, and shall confine myself merely to the principle of the bill, and the reasons stated in support of it by the Hon. Gentleman by whom it was introduced, and the several petitions that lie on your table.

The Hon. Gentleman has said, that our present mode of representation is a novelty, and that what he contends for is not an innovation, but merely a restoration of the antient constitution; and in the several petitions it seems to be laid down as an incontrovertible maxim, that equality of representation is a fundamental principle of the English constitution; an assertion which, I acknowledge, these people may support by the authority of several modern publications, the productions of ingenious and speculative men, who in their vacant moments, when they have nothing else to do, amuse themselves with delineating a fantastical form of government, which they are pleased to entitle the constitution of England; and in deducing a series of political aphorisms, which they tell

* Parliam. Regr. Vol. III.

tell us are the principles of that conſtitution ; but I am confident they cannot ſupport this aſſertion by any facts recorded in the general or parliamentary hiſtory of that country.

If the conſtitution requires an equal repreſentation of the people, the Gentlemen will tell us in what year of what reign that Parliament aſſembled in which the people were equally repreſented. If equality of repreſentation be a principle of the conſtitution, they will point out to us the period at which this principle had effectual operation ; if they cannot do that, they will never perſuade any man of common ſenſe that *that* is the Engliſh conſtitution which never was known to exiſt ; or that *that* is a principle of the conſtitution which never has operated for a ſingle moment of time, from the beginning of the world to the preſent hour.

It was not till the 34th of Henry VIII. that the county and city of Cheſter were impowered to ſend Members to ſerve in Parliament ; it was not till one hundred and thirty years after, in the 25th of Charles II. that this power was extended to the county and city of Durham. Could this poſſibly have happened, if equality of repreſentation were a principle of the Engliſh conſtitution ? In both theſe caſes, ſpecific acts of Parliament were conſidered as requiſite to inveſt them with this right. Could that have been thought neceſſary, if equality of repreſentation were a principle of the conſtitution ?

But to put this matter in a ſtronger light, it has ever been the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to impoſe the burden or extend the privilege of returning Members to ſerve in Parliament, to any communities or bodies of men that the King thought proper. This part of the prerogative has been conſtantly exerciſed without diſpute or controul, from the firſt inſtitution of Parliament to the time of the revolu-

tion : Is it poſſible that this power ſhould even have exiſted for a ſingle moment, if equality of repreſentation were a principle of the conſtitution ?

The Reformers themſelves do not controvert either this power of the Crown, or the validity of the charters that have been formerly granted in conſequence of that power ; but they alledge that many of the boroughs which were at the time the charters were granted, in a flouriſhing condition, are now depopulated and gone to decay. With reſpect to thoſe boroughs where the right of ſuffrage is veſted in the inhabitants at large, I do not believe that the aſſertion is true ; I believe that in the greater part of thoſe towns there are as many Proteſtant inhabitants now as there were in the reign of James I. and with reſpect to thoſe which theſe people call the rotten boroughs, where the right of ſuffrage is veſted in a few perſons only, the depopulation of the places can have no effect upon the repreſentatives. Belfaſt is as much a rotten borough as Harriſtown ; the number of inhabitants is nothing to the purpoſe, for thoſe inhabitants could have no right to poll, and the Members for ſuch boroughs are returned at this day by the ſelf-ſame number of voters that they were at the time that the charters were granted.— I will therefore aſſert that this pretended reform is not a renovation of the ancient conſtitution, but an idle and dangerous innovation.

A ſcheme for reforming the repreſentation of the people was propoſed in the Britiſh Parliament in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, and was introduced by a Gentleman who, at an early period of life, is already ſo diſtinguiſhed for his virtue and abilities, that he bids fair to be one of the moſt illuſtrious characters that country has ever produced, his father not excepted. But notwithſtanding the powerful ſupport it derived from ſuch reſpectable authority, the meaſure was rejected by that wiſe and prudent nation, even in the paroxyſm

yſm of political reformation. They could not be inſenſible of the defects of their conſtitution, but they were ſenſible of the danger of tampering with it, and choſe rather to ſuffer thoſe defects to continue, than to hazard the conſequence of breaking in upon a ſyſtem ſanctified by the wiſdom of ages, and under which they had flouriſhed for ſuch a length of time.

Yet if the people of Great Britain, in the preſent deplorable ſituation of that country, fallen from the higheſt pinnacle of glory, to a ſtate of humiliating diſtreſs, deprived of half her empire, weighed down with a debt of 240 millions, and harraſſed with taxes ſo various and complicated, that they ſeem to have exhauſted the invention of her miniſters: If the people, I ſay, in this ſituation ſhould begin to ſuſpect that the numberleſs calamities they have lately ſuffered were owing to ſome inherent defect in their original conſtitution, and wiſh to amend it, it would not be ſurpriſing; but that the people of Ireland ſhould quarrel with a conſtitution which has raiſed them to the utmoſt ſummit of their wiſhes, is the higheſt degree of folly and ingratitude; a conſtitution under which they have ſo lately obtained a full reſtitution of their natural rights, an unlimited freedom of commerce extended to every part of the globe, and the moſt perfect degree of judicial and legiſlative independence that any nation upon earth has ever yet enjoyed; a conſtitution, in ſhort, which has put them in poſſeſſion of every bleſſing that can render a people flouriſhing and happy, except thoſe which no conſtitution can beſtow, and which are only to be acquired by induſtry, ſobriety, and obedience to the laws; theſe are the only bleſſings we want to make us the happieſt nation upon earth; theſe are the virtues which every honeſt man, every true patriot, every man who has the real welfare of his country at heart, ſhould endeavour to inculcate on the minds of the people, inſtead of turning their brains with a political

jargon which they do not underſtand, and viſionary ſyſtems of government. Theſe are the virtues that will render us in a ſhort time a nation of huſbandmen and manufacturers, artificers and merchants; but at the rate we now go on, we bid fair to be a nation of politicians only, and ſhall appear as ridiculous to all the rational part of mankind, as the inhabitants of Swift's imaginary iſland, who waſted the whole of their time in watching, with the utmoſt anxiety and ſolicitude, every change and motion of the heavenly bodies, whilſt their wives and children were ſtarving at home. The complaints of the people of Great Britain are extorted from them by the preſſure of calamity; but, thank Heaven! the complaints of the people of Ireland are excited merely by the wantonneſs of proſperity.

The wanton and innovating ſpirit of the times has given riſe to another new doctrine in this country, which was diligently propagated at the laſt general election, and ſeems to have been intended to pave the way for this pretended reformation. The doctrine I mean is this, that the repreſentatives are bound to pay implicit obedience to the commands of their conſtituents; a doctrine repugnant to the firſt principle of the conſtitution, which is, that a Member, when elected, becomes the repreſentative of the nation at large, not merely of that particular place that returned him to Parliament; a doctrine which tends to deſtroy the unity of the State, and to degrade the dignity of the Houſe; for if this doctrine be eſtabliſhed, you are no longer the free independent repreſentatives of a great and powerful kingdom, but the fettered deputies of a parcel of petty communities; united indeed under one common Sovereign, but as diſtinct from each other as the cantons of Switzerland or the provinces of America. If this doctrine is to prevail, if we are to be divided into theſe petty communities, it is juſt that each diſtrict ſhould have its particular repreſentatives; but if we adhere

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to the liberal and truly conſtitutional principle, that each Member is the repreſentative of the nation at large, every part of the kingdom is equally repreſented, and every county of the kingdom has not two only, but three hundred repreſentatives.

As an inſtance of the happy effects that would attend this new doctrine, let me recal to the recollection of this Houſe to the ridiculous ſcene that was exhibited on the floor in the beginning of the laſt ſeſſion, when an honourable Member, by order of his conſtituents, moved, that the bill of ſupply ſhould be granted for ſix months only. On the diviſion, he went into the lobby, and was followed by every county Member in the Houſe, a few only excepted, who walked acroſs the floor, many of them apologiſing with their looks and geſtures for the abſurd part they were acting, and deploring at once their own ſervile ſubjection, and the folly of their conſtituents.

Yet theſe, we are told, are the only independent Members of the Houſe; independent indeed they are—independent of reaſon—independent of judgment—independent of choice—independent of every kind of public virtue, which can have no exiſtence without free agency.

This piece of reformation originated with the congreſs of Dungannon, who, after they had reſolved to adopt it, directed their Secretary to write circular letters to every meddling prieſt, every political mountebank, whoſe names they had read of in the Engliſh newſpapers, whom they rendered the arbiters of the Iriſh conſtitution. Theſe letters have ſince been publiſhed by authority; but why do we not find amongſt them any letter to Mr. Pitt, the advocate for reform in the Britiſh Parliament? becauſe they well know that the ſentiments of Mr. Pitt were not congenial to their own;—that he did not deſire to go the lengths to which they were

determined to proceed; his ſcheme of reform was confined to an addition of a certain number to the Members for counties, and great communities. That the repreſentatives of the people ſhould preſume to disfranchiſe their own conſtituents—that they ſhould attempt to deprive of their chartered rights and moſt invaluable privileges, the perſons to whoſe bounty they were indebted for their ſeats, and whoſe confidence had enabled them to ſtrike that mortal blow, was a monſtrous idea, that never entered into the mind of that virtuous man, and was only reſerved for that ſelf-created monſter, the congreſs of Dungannon.

I ſhall now beg leave to make a few obſervations on the motives and conſequences of this pretended reform. The avowed motive is a deſire to diminiſh the ariſtocratic power in this kingdom; but I am thoroughly convinced that this plan would counteract their own intentions, and increaſe the very intereſt they wiſh to deſtroy. The natural conſequence of this reform will be to throw the whole weight of power and influence in this country into the ſcale of property, and to bar for ever the doors of this Houſe againſt riſing genius or expiring virtue.

I ſhall not heſitate to aſſert, that Great Britain owes the glory from which ſhe has lately fallen, and Ireland the glory to which ſhe has ariſen, and which I hope ſhe will ever maintain, to theſe very rotten boroughs that are now ſo reprobated.

You cannot but remember the wretched ſituation of Great Britain in 1757, when ſhe had France alone to contend with; ſo ſunk were the power, the reſources, and even the ſpirit of the nation, that inſtead of making any vigorous effort againſt this ſingle enemy, ſhe thought it neceſſary to bring over twelve thouſand German troops to ſave her from inva-

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ſion. Such was the ſituation of Great Britain when Lord Chatham took the helm; and ſuch was the effect of the ſpirit and abilities of this one man, that in three years time the French were driven from the continent of America, and deprived of the fineſt of their Weſt Indian iſlands: Yet who was this Mr. Pitt? a younger brother with 200l. a year and a cornetcy of horſe, who had no more chance of repreſenting any great community in England than I have at this inſtant. Had he not been returned for a rotten borough, he might have lived in obſcurity, and his virtues had been loſt to himſelf and to his country. What chance had Mr. Burke, who is an honour to this country—what chance had Mr. Fox, whoſe abilities are the objects of general admiration, of repreſenting the cities of Briſtol and Weſtminſter, if they had not firſt diſplayed their abilities by repreſenting private boroughs?

But to come nearer home, I will venture to aſſert that you owe the emancipation of Ireland to thoſe boroughs. I will venture to aſſert, that you are principally indebted for the reſtitution of your rights to the ſpirit, the abilities, the perſeverance and real integrity of the Hon. Gentleman near me; and I am ſupported in this aſſertion by the unanimous vote of this Houſe, and the univerſal voice of the people at that time, though now I find he has loſt ſome part of his popularity by the moſt virtuous action of his life—the preferring the real ſubſtantial intereſts of his country to an idle punctilio. What chance had this Gentleman, with all his abilities, of repreſenting any but a private borough? Who were his principal aſſailants in this great revolution? Members for rotten boroughs. I know but of one county Member who took a diſtinguiſhed part on that occaſion; I mean the Right Hon. Gentleman who repreſents the county of Wexford, and who is juſtly entitled to the ſecond place in the gratitude of the public. Had this meaſure taken place but

three years ago, which these people contend for as necessary to their freedom, it is probable that Ireland would not now be free; and that instead of wasting your time in this idle speculation, you would now be deploring the shackles imposed upon your trade, or the power assumed by the British Parliament to make laws to bind this country.

I shall conclude with conjuring the Gentlemen who hear me, that they will not be such dupes as to believe, that by passing this bill they will satisfy the people. He must be a young politician indeed, and but little acquainted with the history of mankind, or the human heart, who thinks that a people can be satisfied with concessions. If it was possible that concessions could satisfy a people, would there at this day be a murmur in Ireland? Besides, the people have acted fairly on this occasion—they have told you that the passing of this bill will not satisfy them. This pretended reform is only the first of an alphabet of innovations which the congress of Dungannon have voted as necessary for the freedom of the people, and have determined to pursue; though they have been advised in the first instance to lay their shoulders to this particular object. If you yield to them in this point they will attack you on some other, and so proceed from innovation to innovation, till they have subverted your constitution both in church and state; this is therefore the time to resist their incroachments.

Sir *Hercules Langrishe*.—I am glad this great question, which has so much engaged the public mind, and been agitated with so much industry from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, has at length been brought before Parliament; and it is now our duty to give it a full, a free, and a patient discussion. If the evil that it supposes has existence, and the remedy it offers be adequate and safe, it will have many powerful advocates here; on the other hand, if it states

ſtates defects that do not exiſt, and offers remedies that are neither ſafe nor applicable, it is better the Houſe of Commons ſhould decide againſt it at once, that the people may no longer be diſturbed or deceived by it. And now let me ſay, if I wanted any new proof of the ſuperior excellence of our happy conſtitution, that alteration was unneceſſary and amendment impracticable, the plan of reform now read at your table would furniſh ample teſtimony; for when two Gentlemen of ſuch diſtinguiſhed abilities, aſſiſted by deliberative aſſemblies in their own country, and enlightened by the oracles that have been conſulted in another country—when Gentlemen, of ſuch talents, ſo aſſiſted, have at length produced ſuch a plan of reform, I am juſtified in thinking that the taſk is beyond the ſtrength of man; and convinced as I am, that our preſent conſtitution, in its preſent condition, is competent to every degree of civil liberty, I muſt alſo be convinced that amendment is a dream, and alteration would not be wiſdom.

Conſider now, Sir, the plan before you—conſider it impartially, and tell me, is it founded in any one principle which it profeſſes? Does it tend to remove any one evil that it imagines? Does it meet any one of the ideas that have amuſed the people? No, not one? Is it a plan for an equal repreſentation of the people? No, it leaves above three-fourths of the people as it found them, unrepreſented. Is it a plan for a more equal repreſentation of the people in Parliament? No, it renders the repreſentation much more unequal than it found it; for inſtance, a freeholder in one barony, by this bill, may vote for four, or ſix, or eight Members of Parliament; a freeholder in the next barony ſhall vote only for two Members. Is this to render the repreſentation of the people more equal? Good God! how the people are deceived! how they are abuſed!

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Is it a plan for the more equal repreſentation of property, the antient and original title to repreſentation ? No, Sir, the reverſe ! If this bill as you ſee it were a law, a worthy and reſpectable gentleman in the county to which I belong, who has 4000l. per annum landed eſtate in one barony, would thereby be entitled to vote for two Members, and the ſervant who ſtands behind my chair, who is poſſeſſed of a 40s. freehold in a neighbouring barony, ſhall vote for eight Members of Parliament. Is it a plan to enlarge the baſis of legiſlation, by increaſing the number of the conſtituent body ? No, Sir ! it diminiſhes, it contracts ; it ſtrikes off thouſands and tens of thouſands of your electors ; it disfranchiſes every freeman in the nation who does not hold by birth, ſervitude, marriage or trade. It disfranchiſes every freeholder under 20l. per annum who does not reſide ; it demoliſhes the whole tribe of pot-wallopers ; men entitled to vote in right of reſidence (the freeſt title the conſtitution knows), are to be extinct, unleſs they can call in to their aid a multitude of freeholders in general too great to be found ; for inſtance, if a borough were to conſiſt of 5000 Proteſtant inhabitants, entitled and accuſtomed to vote, no matter, they ſhall be extinguiſhed unleſs they likewiſe have within their precincts 70 or 100 reſident voters, qualified according to this act, which no borough in Ireland has, and which very few ever would have. But it effects a new creation to ſupply this general maſſacre ; it confers a right to vote for thoſe boroughs to others. To whom ? To freeholders ; perſons entitled to vote for other Members before. It is true, that amongſt thoſe a claſs of freeholders is incorporated (new indeed to the conſtitution), freeholders on terms for years ; but the freehold required is of ſo large an amount, that their numbers will be ſmall. Now let me aſk, is it a plan to increaſe the number of your repreſentatives ? No, Sir, to diminiſh it ! In the firſt inſtance, it decays and depopulates every borough, and almoſt every city in the kingdom ; for I

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do not believe that one of them contains within its precincts 100 voters qualified and regiſtered according to this bill. I have heard of a clauſe of redemption for them. I only know what I ſee, and I ſee no ſuch thing in this bill; and if ſuch a clauſe or ſchedule were inſerted, it would, on the principles of the bill, impoſe conditions that muſt for ever exclude ſeveral of them from reſtoration.

And here I lament the deſtiny, though I admire the virtue of the town of Newry, who petitioned for this reform. With their 12,000 inhabitants, all intitled, if they were Proteſtants, to vote for Members, yet they are all disfranchiſed unleſs they alſo contain within their precincts 100 of another ſort of voters, qualified according to this bill. (He applied the principle and effects to Drogheda, Waterford, Kilkenny, Limerick, Cork, &c. and concluded with the borough of Dungannon). And here let me lament the fate of poor Dungannon, at once the pride and the reproach of her ſons; Dungannon, ſo late the centre of government, the head of legiſlation, the ſeat of empire! unleſs you have within your precincts (which I am ſure you have not), 100 voters qualified according to this bill, you are decayed, depopulated, and extinct. Will you not ſpare this town on account of the righteous people that were found therein! I know not whether you have a redemption in ſtore, but I know your redemption is not to be found in the bill on your table. What then can the friends of this bill (if any ſuch there be), what can they ſay of it? They cannot ſay it is a bill for an equal repreſentation of the people—a bill for a more equal repreſentation of the people—a bill for the more equal repreſentation of property—a bill to widen the baſis of legiſlation, to encreaſe the number of electors, to encreaſe the number of repreſentatives: No ſuch thing! quite the reverſe! In the name of Heaven what is its tendency? Is it a reform on any one ſettled principle? Does it, or would it correct any one

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abuſe? No, Sir! it is nothing but alteration; a transfer of election influence from one ſet of men to another, which would produce two or three years of conteſt and confuſion, and then, by corruption or compromiſe, the dominion would ſettle with the moſt powerful of the neighbourhood. The power would change hands, but the exerciſe of it would be the ſame. And is it for this mighty benefit that the ancient habits of the conſtitution are to be changed? For this your country is to be viſited by a jubilee of licentiouſneſs, a ſaturnalia of anarchy for a few years, before it repoſes again on the abuſes you now complain of. Yet this is the great arcanum, the ſacred myſtery ſent abroad, like the miracles of Mahomet aſſiſted by the ſword, from the North to the South, from the Eaſt to the Weſt, to ſubdue the obdurate, and multiply ſubſcribers to the true faith. I do not mean the leaſt diſreſpect to any man in what I ſay of this plan of reform. I ſpeak of it as I think of it. I think it all confuſion and danger, and nothing elſe. And it ſhews me into what inconſiſtencies even wiſe men will fall when they attempt a reform where reformation is unneceſſary—what inſupportable difficulties they encounter in an attempt to new model a conſtitution which has ſtood for centuries the admiration and envy of the world, and diſtinguiſhed from all others by having preſerved civil liberty on the earth at this day. Under thoſe opinions, and with this veneration for the conſtitution, I will not ſo far admit its defects as to go into a committee to amend it. I will not carry into a committee this chaos of rude materials, out of which to create a new conſtitution, when I have one already formed ſo competent to human happineſs. I will not go paragraph by paragraph through a plan of alteration where alteration is not neceſſary. I will not keep the public mind longer in a ſtate of ſuſpenſe between free government and fruitleſs ſpeculation, but endeavour to reſcue public tranquillity from the deſigns or deluſions of the viſionary, the raſh, or the reſtleſs.

Much

Much has been ſaid, and much has been inferred concerning the petitions which are diſplayed on your table; but when Gentlemen talk of theſe petitions, they forget that there are between two and three millions of inhabitants in this country. There are ſeveral petitions on your table for a reform—ſome againſt it; I have no doubt but the majority of your petitions is in favour of reform, becauſe innovation is ever the moſt active. But it matters not on which ſide the majority lies; take them all together, they are but as a drop of water to the ocean of your population; they are as a unit in compariſon to the numbers of your people; and if thoſe perſons, however reſpectable, petition for any great innovation, you have no right to conclude the multitude on the ſuggeſtion of the few; and even if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe (which it is not) that the majority of the people petitioned for an alteration of the conſtitution intruſted to you, you have not a right to comply; you have not, in that caſe, a right to indulge their deſires, or inflict on them the accompliſhment of their wiſhes. If you comply in what you think a public injury, you are an accomplice in the injury, and betray the intereſts of the people on the bribe of their own favours.

It is to be lamented by every man who feels for the honour and the happineſs of this country, that after the reputation we have acquired and the benefits we have obtained—acquiſitions limited only by the bounds of our own demands, and adequate to every degree of human happineſs, we ſhould afford our enemies a pretext for charging us with a light, an inconſtant, and reſtleſs character, as if the accompliſhment of our wiſhes was but the beginning of our diſcontents, and unlimited demand the offspring of unlimited conceſſion—that we were falling under the deſcription Monteſquieu gives of a people unworthy of liberty: "A people grown impatient of the power they have delegated, deſirous to do every thing

thing themſelves, debate for the ſenate, execute for the magiſtrates, and decide for the judges;"—that having obtained the beſt conſtitution in the world, we had not the patience to try it for one ſeſſion of Parliament; but in contempt of the high legiſlative aſſemblies, reſolved ourſelves into five hundred little Parliaments in every corner of the kingdom, where we voted that conſtitution an intolerable grievance, and called aloud for a new one.

Were I at liberty to remonſtrate with my countrymen, whom I love, I would aſk them, do you enjoy freedom? they muſt anſwer in the affirmative; have you commerce; unbounded as the ocean that ſurrounds you? are you in poſſeſſion of all the bleſſings that can flow from the beſt and freeſt government? you are: is it then wiſdom, is it common ſenſe, when you are ſure of thoſe, to throw them back into the ocean of uncertainty, to commit them to the wilderneſs of ſpeculation, or hazard of experiment? Is it wiſdom to interrupt your enjoyment of every thing that is valuable, by dreams of ſomething more free than freedom, more deſirable than happineſs? The loweſt man in the community has wiſdom enough to feel the force of this maxim, "when you are well, keep yourſelf ſo." But there is not a philoſopher in the nation wiſe enough to ſay, what would be the conſequence of a change: Neither Solon, nor Lycurgus, nor Plato, nor Locke, nor Sydney, if they were alive, would hazard a conjecture as to the effects on the conſtitution, if you were to adopt any one of thoſe plans which have been offered to you: they might make a democracy, they might make an ariſtocracy, they might encreaſe the power of the Crown, they might make any thing but the conſtitution of England; yet, every man in the community, the gentleman and the artificer, the learned and the unlearned, that man that can read and the man who cannot, are all alike ready to undertake the taſk of conſtitution-making; or, if any of them ſhould

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happen not to have leiſure from the ſhuttle or the plough, they have only to ſay, " we entirely agree in the plan of reform digeſted and agreed on by the grand national convention," and there is a conſtitution ready made to their hands. I do not ſay our conſtitution, the work only of human wiſdom, is without defect; but there is an inherent ſtrength in it, that has in all convulſions produced remedies for its evils and controuls for its exceſſes, and through many revolutions has maintained liberty to this day. Now you have got it, do not throw it away; condeſcend to enjoy it and be happy; your country wants improvement, your conſtitution does not; cultivate the one, and you will be ſure to enjoy the other. But if you grow diſcontented with your form of government, and are diſtracted about new ſchemes and new ſyſtems, you will be dupes of deſigning men in your own country, and ſtrangers will not come near you. Amidſt your controverſies and your arms, the ſtranger would not know where to find the laws that are to be his protection; and you may find, perhaps too late, that you have been cheated of your happineſs; you will be thought an unreaſonable, and you will feel yourſelves an unfortunate people—a people whom commerce could not enrich, and whom freedom could not ſatisfy!

After ſeveral arguments on each ſide of the queſtion, Mr. *Flood* ſupported the bill in the following manner:

" I flatter myſelf from the particular ſituation in which it now ſtands, that the bill will obtain a more favourable hearing than before. I now, Sir, entertain the ſame ſentiments reſpecting this bill, that I did then, as it is a bill for reſtoring the conſtitution. I beg leave to repreſent to this Houſe, that I bring a meaſure of the firſt importance before one of the firſt aſſemblies in the world. This meaſure, Sir, has nothing to rely on for ſucceſs but the juſtice on which it is founded,

founded, and every motive of prejudice and intereſt is againſt it. I pay the greateſt compliment to the virtue of this Houſe, when I venture to propoſe to your conſideration a ſubject ſo unpalatable, ſo militating againſt your private intereſts. Thoſe who argue againſt this meaſure on the ſcore of impropriety, do but little juſtice to it; but I tell them it is neceſſary. As I did not imagine I ſhould be called on to defend this bill in its preſent ſtage, I reſerved what I had to offer in its favour for the committee. I never entertained the leaſt difference of ſentiments relative to this ſubject; I am a friend to this bill from principle, and becauſe it is taken up by the great body of the people. On one ſide of your table are the petitions of twenty-ſix counties praying for a reform of Parliament; on the other are two petitions and one memorial againſt it. Theſe petitions ſhow the ſenſe of the nation—thoſe the influence of ariſtocratic factions in the country. You ſee how the voice of the people has prevailed even in the county of Down. There, though the ariſtocratic influence was ſtrongeſt, it was forced to ſuccumb to the voice of the people, and forced to ſuccumb, notwithſtanding every exertion of influence ſince made. In the county of Kilkenny, which groaned under an ariſtocratic influence ſince the revolution, the people, ſuch was their ardour in purſuit of this meaſure, ſigned it in oppoſition to their landlords. This they did without ſolicitation, through mere conviction of the rectitude of the meaſure. So little influence was uſed on the popular ſide, that I would not ſuffer one of my tenants, or any other under my influence, to ſign the petition, leſt it ſhould be miſconſtrued by the enemies of reform. Not one of my relations, or bearing the name of Flood, though a numerous and opulent family, ſigned it. Yet to the many and reſpectable names ſubſcribed, no leſs than one hundred more might have been added, while the other petition was carried about to ſolicit ſignatures. The principle of the bill has the approbation of the people. The queſtion therefore is, are the

the people to be properly repreſented, or are they not? As the people are the proper judges of this matter, if a man ſays himſelf, he is not properly repreſented, is it not abſurd for any one elſe to ſay he is? Can one hundred rotten boroughs bar the nation of its rights of voting? Will any man ſay, that the few have a right to debar the many of their privileges? Will any man ſay, that it bears the leaſt reſemblance to the antient conſtitution? The Volunteers have been on this occaſion induſtriouſly diſparaged. This was ſaid to be their meaſure, and to contain their ſentiments; but theſe ſentiments are adopted by the counties and by the freeholders of Ireland, as well as by the Volunteers; and to object to it, as the favourite wiſh of the Volunteers, is making them a very ungrateful return for the many and ſignal ſervices rendered by them to this kingdom. When this bill was formerly introduced into this Houſe, it was argued that it ought to be rejected as originating with the Volunteers.—The Volunteers diſappeared, and it is now argued, that it is ſufficient cauſe to reject it becauſe they began with it.

By disfranchiſing boroughs you but renovate the conſtitution. In the beginning of our government, the Lords voted not from the grant of the Crown, but from their own property; not by writ or patent, but by right of barony. It is true, the Crown afterwards encroached on the matter, and inſiſted on the prerogative of electing the Lords; but will any man ſay, on that account, that if the right of a ſeat in the Houſe of Lords were given to be reſtored to its antient form, it would be an innovation, and not a reſtoration of the antient conſtitution? The ſame reaſoning will be found to hold equally in reſpect to the preſent monopoly of boroughs.—This bill, Sir, is not pretended to be perfect; it is only deſired that it may have an opportunity to be perfected in the committee. Conſider how the conſtitution ſtands—that it may grow worſe, and not better, by delay. Much has been ſaid of the great advantage procured for this country by the

exertions of Parliament, in order to defeat this bill; but has not that Parliament the power to vote away, in one unlucky hour, all that has been acquired by the virtue of the people? Are the people therefore to blame if they desire to take away that dangerous power?

We ought to give the bill a fair discussion, to be able to form a just idea of its principle; and in order to bring the qualifications to their original form, the bill makes a certain residence necessary to have a right of voting for any place.—Will Gentlemen say this is innovation? The origin of your constitution says it is not. I appeal to your statute books to prove, that, within a few years, an unconstitutional act was made to dispense with residence in the electors. If that statute had a right to innovate on the constitution, can it be said we have not a right to restore it?

It is intended to bring in a schedule to the bill when it goes to the committee. I have a particular clause to introduce, when Gentlemen shew by the committal that they are reconciled to the principle: by the laws now subsisting, a 40s freeholder may vote every where, but by this bill he is precluded all possibility of voting for more than two representatives.

This question, Sir, has been agitated both publicly and privately, with the greatest ardour and the greatest zeal, and Gentlemen may depend on it, that their not suffering it to go into a committee will not put an end to the subject. The people have set their hearts on its attainment, and the people will at length succeed. Lord Coke says, he never knew a great question to be agitated, and afterwards renewed, that did not succeed. It acquires strength from time to time, and the labour of the people, that always insures its success.—The attention shewn this subject proves the sense the nation has of its rectitude.

Nothing

Nothing can put the neceſſity of regiſtering freeholds in a clearer light, than the enormous abuſes on the laſt election. In ſome counties in this kingdom the poll continued for weeks In one did not a poll continue for 3 months, and could one of the great number polled during that time eſtabliſh his vote? This is an additional argument in favour of this bill, which enjoins reſidence, and other qualifications, that would not only prevent the practice of polling as freeholders ſuch as were not ſo, but cauſe all the polls in the kingdom to be taken in three days, as it requires a reſidence of twelve months, and orders the poll to be taken in the different baronies.

Much has been ſaid of infringing charters, and much has been argued from thence, in the oppoſition of this meaſure. Even the competence of Parliament in that reſpect has been called in queſtion, and its legality diſputed. But was it ever ſaid that to deprive of his franchiſe a revenue officer, or any other whom undue influence prohibited from making a proper uſe of it, was illegal? Was it ever thought unjuſt to take away a privilege he was like to uſe againſt, and not for, the conſtitution? It would be abſurd to imagine it for a moment. In England, revenue and poſt-office officers were debarred the right of voting, becauſe they are under influence, and cannot be expected to make a conſtitutional uſe of their franchiſes. Perſons who have penſions are alſo precluded the right of voting, which, for the ſame reaſons, no man ever thought unjuſt. Let thoſe Gentlemen talk as they will of chartered rights, if they are found inimical to the conſtitution they ought to be diſchartered.

Gentlemen think it hard to deprive ſuch as have an influence in boroughs of what they call their property; but this is not depriving them of their property, but reſtoring you to yours. They have only with-held them from the public, and have no right to be rewarded for relinquiſhing them.—They ſhould rather be puniſhed for having ſo long detained

what was not their own, and for having preferred their private advantage to the public good. I am not againſt making them a compenſation, though I cannot ſufficiently wonder at their audacity when they require it; but if ſuch recompence is to be made, pay them in money and not in conſtitution.

The Volunteers were formerly inſulted, and the Roman Catholics muſt now be exaſperated. But why? to get rid of a meaſure, which would, by removing markets without doors, remove markets within; which would deprive a certain deſcription of men of the power of the nation. Will you ſuffer yourſelves to be lorded over by the proprietors of rotten boroughs? Will you ſuffer yourſelves to be dictated to by your fellow-ſubjects, who would not bear it from your King?"

Mr. *Flood*, after mentioning the late ſale of Enniſcorthy, and the Shoreham caſe, and ſome proofs of the neceſſity of reform, and ſaying, that Mr. Fox, and ſome other great characters, being friendly to the principle of this bill, was a ſtrong evidence of its propriety, continued:—If any Gentleman can prepare any better, let him do ſo;" but let the bill go to a committee, and there let it be diſcuſſed. If any man will propoſe any better plan I am very ready to adopt it; but until other Gentlemen propoſe a better, I am in favour of the preſent. There is much influence and property in this Houſe, but will not the force of reaſon be ſufficient to overcome the principles of intereſt? In juſtice this bill ought to be examined—it ſhould flow from the voluntary act of the Houſe. I am an advocate for the principles of this bill; if it has defects, let them be remedied. I would not blame any man for his infirmities—I would not blame the principles of a bill that is to redreſs a known grievance, before I examine it. We do not ſit here to frame excuſes for ſo unwarrantable an idea. Will any man ſay, that a borough ſhall be ſold, and be a friend to the conſtitution?—

How

How may this fault be remedied then? One Hon. Gentleman (Major Doyle) says, it may be remedied by the administration of an oath to the elected; but this very oath is provided in a clause in this bill. Sir, I say the principle of this bill is not to be shaken; it is calculated to restore to its original purity the only part of the constitution which requires it. Upon what principle will you reject it, unless you say, the rights of the community ought not to be restored? Here is an oath, that the elected has not purchased his seat. This is a measure which every one has called for, who wants to have a free constitution, and all we design is, that the constitution may be free. You have had a free commerce, which you derived from the last Parliament, and if you do not restore the constitution, future Parliaments may undo all that has been done.—Have you not a right to guard those acquisitions?—Corrupt majorities I have seen, and lamented to have seen; they may in future undo every thing which you have been doing. Ministers have led them into this House; I have opposed, and conquered them too. I will prove to a demonstration, if called upon so to do, that they are not the representatives of the people. It has been said, that this bill originated in Dungannon; but the principle has been approved of in every part of the kingdom. It has been said that an effort to the same purpose was lately made in England, and had been rejected, and that it would be a dangerous innovation; but, I say, there can be no danger; if there had been any, would it not have been contended against there, when it was so greatly and powerfully supported by some of the most respectable characters in that country?"

At length the question being put whether the bill should be committed, it passed in the negative—ayes, 85—noes, 159.

CHAP.

CHAP XVII.

Bill for securing the liberty of the press—Debates thereon—resolutions was red in favour of distressed tradesmen, rejected.—Insurgency of the white-boys in 1784,—Proceedings of the Roman Catholic Clergy thereon—Dr Troy's pastoral letter—approved of by government—conclusion of the session—Lord Lieutenant's speech.

DURING the session of 1784 Mr. *Foster* presented a bill for securing the liberty of the press, by preventing the publication of false, seditious, and slanderous libels. He mentioned the provisions of the bill, which were, that the name of the real printer and proprietor of every newspaper be entered upon oath at the Stamp-office, and that the printer enter into a recognizance of 500l. to answer all civil suits that may be instituted against him for publications; and that, under a penalty, no money be received by them, or any person for them, for inserting, or on the pretence of leaving out any slanderous publication

In the debates on this bill, Sir *Edward Crofton* said, he was astonished that a bill of such a dangerous tendency to the constitution, and so violent an attack on the liberty of the subject, should be agitated in such thin Houses. He declared that he considered the press as the strongest bulwark of our constitution, and therefore, as he valued that constitution, would resist any measure of a tendency to lessen its securities. He then moved, that the second reading be postponed to the 1st of August.

Mr.

Mr. *Foſter* ſaid, that it was highly unjuſt to ſuppoſe any injury intended to the liberty of the preſs by the bill in queſtion; the manifeſt deſign of that bill was to preſerve the liberty of the preſs by curbing its licentiouſneſs, which of late had grown to ſuch a degree of enormity as to become a national reproach: The bill was not intended as a reſtraint upon any man, to prevent his publiſhing his ſentiments or opinions; if the bill ſhould paſs, every man would hereafter be at as full liberty as he now is, to publiſh whatever he ſhould think proper, with this difference only, that if a jury of his countrymen ſhould deem ſuch publication a falſe, ſcandalous, or malicious libel, he would be anſwerable.

Counſellor *Boyd* ſaid, that the bill profeſſed to ſecure the liberty of the preſs, by preventing the licentiouſneſs of it; if he thought it adequate to this meaſure, it ſhould have his ſupport; but he was convinced it had a direct contrary tendency—to deſtroy that freedom which it affected to ſupport. The connection between liberty and licentiouſneſs is ſo intimate, that it is very difficult to correct the one without wounding the other: "Liberty is the greateſt good a nation can enjoy; but every good has its alloy of evil, and licentiouſneſs is the alloy of liberty—it is a ſpeck on the political eye, which ought to be touched with a very delicate hand, leſt, in attempting to remove it, you deſtroy the body on which it appears." He approved of that part of the bill that required a public regiſtry of the real names of the printer and proprietor; that done, the arm of the common law was long enough to reach and puniſh the offender without the aid of this ſtatute. There are two modes of proceeding—either by public proſecution or private action:—If the offender declines to appear, he may be compelled, or, at leaſt, the party may proceed to outlawry.

He

He was not for encouraging the experiment of bringing forward the printer or publiſher, unleſs on great occaſions. Juries are already very averſe to finding verdicts againſt them; this bill will make them more ſo; it is a bill brought forward on the ſpur of the occaſion, in the abſence of moſt of the country Gentlemen; it will be ſtiled the bill of the Right Hon. Gentleman who introduced it—a bill of reſentment, not of redreſs. It is not ſafe or prudent to encourage actions againſt printers; in a civil action, truth is a juſtification againſt the charge of a libel; a jury, not the court, are to decide as to the truth. Suppoſe a printer ſhould publiſh, that a Gentleman of this Houſe was an enemy to his country, becauſe he voted againſt the bill of reform, would it be prudent to ſend this to be tried by a jury? They might think, with the printer, that the reform bill was expedient, and that the friend of his country ſhould have ſupported it, and from thence infer, that he was an enemy who oppoſed it; on this event they muſt find a verdict for the defendant.

He diſapproved that part of the bill which required the printer and publiſher to give ſecurity, by recognizance, to appear to any action, and to pay the damages and coſts that may be awarded againſt them; this is a ſort of ſpecial bail required before the crime is committed. The appearance may be enforced by the ordinary proceſs of the law, without this novel prerogative proceſs by recognizance; perhaps the nature and effect of a recognizance is not perfectly underſtood; a recognizance binds the property of him who acknowledges it from the moment of execution. The forfeiture of that recognizance twenty years hence, will affect this property in the hands of an innocent purchaſer for valuable conſideration; thus a publiſher will be prevented from raiſing money by mortgage of his lands, or diſpoſing of them in

in any manner, becauſe they are bound by the recognizance, for the ſubſequent offence has a fictitious relation to the execution of recognizance; but an offence eſtabliſhed by verdict and judgment has no relation backwards; therefore intermediate between the offence committed, and the verdict and judgment, the publiſher may alien his property, and thus protect it againſt the judgment and execution; the evident conſequence of this is, that men of wealth will not ſubject their property thus, and none but mean obſcure perſons, who can ſuffer nothing by the forfeiture, will become publiſhers. Another poſſible fault in this bill is, that the Judges, &c. &c. who are to take recognizances, have no diſcretionary power to enquire as to the circumſtances of the perſon, but are virtually required to take the recognizance of every beggar who demands it. The bill preſſes hard on the publiſher in another inſtance:—in conſequence of a judgment in the ordinary mode of proceeding, a moiety of his lands only can be extended, but on the recognizance, the whole may be extended; the recognizance is abſolutely forfeited by not appearing to the action at a certain day, and the Court can give no redreſs if the party ſhould appear at a future day—this is contrary to the preſent practice in our Courts, for a party in contempt for not appearing, is allowed to purge this contempt by payment of ſmall coſts, and paying obedience to the proceſs of the Court. The bill is a diſcouragement to men of liberal ſentiments—men of reputation—men of wealth, to become publiſhers, and tends to throw the buſineſs into the hands of men of an oppoſite deſcription, againſt whom the public can have no ſecurity; the bill therefore deſerves another title—a bill to deſtroy the liberty, and promote the licentiouſneſs of the preſs.

The *Recorder* followed Mr. Boyd. He aſſerted, that truth was not actionable; that the bill would give no new remedy to perſons aggrieved by public actions; and that, without producing

producing the ſmalleſt benefit to the public, it was a dangerous encroachment on liberty, and a very great oppreſſion to all concerned in the printing-trade. He ſaid, that in future no gentleman or man of property would engage in a profeſſion, which though liberal in itſelf, would make him the ſlave of ſtamp commiſſioners; and therefore character would be leſs ſecure than it is at preſent.

In England, he ſaid, which we are ſo fond of copying, ſuch a law would not be admitted; that wiſe and free nation would never conſent to put fetters upon genius; and therefore its language has been ornamented with the writings of Junius; nor could the preſent bill be deemed any more than an impotent attempt to injure what it could not controul; for even ſhould it paſs, the ſame proofs that are now required, would be neceſſary to convict a printer. It would not be ſufficient evidence to prove that a certain libel appeared in the Volunteer's Journal, becauſe any perſon with a private preſs might exactly copy the appearance of that journal, and in his copy publiſh what libels he thought fit; the neceſſity therefore of tracing the bill to the publiſher would ſtill remain, and therefore the bill gave no new relief to the injured.

He concluded with aſſerting, that the bill was abſolutely unneceſſary; for as the law ſtood at preſent, its operation was ſufficient to awe men into obedience. Some of the newsprinters had appeared at the bar to excuſe their error, while others, at the hazard of their lives, had endeavoured to fly from the reſentment of the Houſe, conſcious that the preſent law was fully able to puniſh any miſdemeanor. It was called a bill for ſecuring the liberty of the preſs; but how did it ſecure it?—why, for government, and againſt the people.

After

After much debate on both ſides, this bill paſſed through the uſual forms, received the royal aſſent, and the LIBERTY of the PRESS was thus *ſecured* by RESTRAINING IT.

Mr. Gardiner (afterwards Lord Mountjoy), toward the cloſe of the ſeſſion moved the following reſolutions:—Firſt, that many of the trading people of this kingdom were in the greateſt calamity and diſtreſs.—Secondly, That the importation of foreign articles into this kingdom had conſiderably increaſed for a ſeries of years, and ſtill continued to do ſo. Thirdly, That it was neceſſary for Parliament to interfere and alleviate the preſent diſtreſſes of the people.

Mr. Gardiner introduced theſe reſolutions with the following remarks,—"It is not my fault (ſaid he) that this buſineſs lies under an additional diſadvantage, from the late part of the ſeſſions in which it is introduced—It is in the recollection of gentlemen, that no endeavours of mine were wanting to bring it in on an earlier day. I muſt confeſs this an arduous buſineſs, and far exceeding my ſtrength; bnt I hope and requeſt the aſſiſtance of gentlemen of greater talents than I poſſeſs.—I only furniſh the raw materials, let them erect the ſuperſtructure.

I ſhall, Sir, firſt ſtate the purport of my propoſitions.—This is a meaſure to reſtrain importation, but does not affect the exportation of raw materials. Gentlemen would have the evidence on that head alſo included in the report of the committee, but one had no connexion with the other. The committee was ordered to enquire into the ſtate of manufactures at large, but they did it partially; they confined themſelves to the woollen branch, to blankets, carpets, hats, &c. My ſyſtem is not confined to theſe objects only, but alſo includes paper, hardware, and other articles. The weaving branch is certainly a very material branch of commerce, but other

other objects alſo have their weight.

Here Mr. Gardiner obviated many objections which he ſaid had been made to his meaſure. It is not, ſaid he, calculated to divide, but to unite the two countries. The people of England will think it no cauſe of enmity with us, that we follow their example. She adopted protecting duties, becauſe ſhe thought it her intereſt—let us act the ſame part—what's good for one, muſt be good for the other.

„ The meaſure is no oppoſition to government. I never made it my buſineſs to introduce any thing for the purpoſe of embarraſſing government. On the contrary, I thought it my duty to ſupport them when right.—I think it alſo my duty to admoniſh them of their error when wrong. Government ought to be informed of the grievances of the people.

This meaſure has not been brought forward irregularly—it is grounded on the report of a committee, and the petitions of the people. I confeſs, Sir, I am ſtrongly biaſſed in its favour. The deſpondency and diſtreſs of this country, together with the juſtice and expediency of the meaſure itſelf, muſt make every gentleman its friend. Who can behold ſo many thouſands of his fellow-creatures ſtruggling with calamities, almoſt inſupportable by humanity, and not incline to give relief? The misfortune is not particular—it is univerſal—not confined to Dublin, it extends to Cork, Limerick, Waterford, the Queen's County, and every part of the kingdom where the woollen manufacture is carried on—Not limited to even the woollen, but affecting every infant manufacture in this country.

With reſpect to the poverty and wretchedneſs of this miſerable deſcription of our fellow-creatures, I think it unneceſſary to uſe a ſingle word. Gentlemen cannot but know the reality of this fact already; it is impoſſible to go through the ſtreets

ſtreets without meeting teſtimonies that this aſſertion is but too well founded. If, however, gentlemen chooſe to diſpute a thing ſo ſelf-evident, I am ready to produce witneſſes of character at your bar, to put it beyond diſpute.

If gentlemen wiſh to judge fairly, it is right to wave theory and ſpeculation, and confine their attention to the different effects of the different modes adopted in Great Britain and Ireland.—They will perceive that the long depreſſion of this country is owing to her want of protection for her trade. In England, to what is owing the great degree of power and wealth ſhe has attained, but to protecting duties?

Now, Sir, I ſhall enter on the main part of the buſineſs, and let me entreat gentlemen to be free from prejudice, and to diveſt themſelves of every bias. I do not mean to proceed on ſpeculation, but to reaſon from facts, and the ties of policy of the two kingdoms. England has flouriſhed from adopting protecting duties, and Ireland has ſunk by a neglect of them. Woollens were always the ſtaple commodity of this country as well as of England. It was ſo far back as Edward III. in whoſe reign acts of parliament were paſſed, in which we find clauſes for protecting the trade of Ireland. At every period before 1698, we enjoyed every advantage of a free country: We had nothing then to contend with, as no jealouſy exiſted in the breaſt of England before the laſt-mentioned period. Our trade was guaranteed by Magna Charta; our exports acknowledged by that venerable ſtatute—no treaty was made in which we were not nominally or virtually included. Antecedent to the year 1689, our exports were double our imports, and the number of ſhipping almoſt doubled in the ten preceding years. At that period the balance of trade was exceedingly in favour of Ireland, being no leſs than 224,000*l.* a year. If we conſider the difficulties this country laboured under in thoſe days, and the comparative value of money then

then and now, this will be found an enormous balance. When Ireland exhibited nothing but a continued ſcene of diſturbance, diſunion, tumult, and frequently of civil wars within herſelf, to what are we to attribute her advantages in commerce but to her protecting duties, her geographical ſituation, and induſtry?

When William III. came to the throne of theſe kingdoms, he laid ſeveral unjuſt and pernicious reſtrictions on the trade of Ireland, in order to gratify England, which began to grow jealous of our proſperity; in other reſpects he may have ſerved this kingdom; he may have been wiſe and good; but certainly theſe unjuſt and deſtructive reſtrictions, together with other partialities, manifeſted by him againſt us on all occaſions, are more than a counterpoiſe to every good he has done this country.

The firſt ſtab given in his reign to our riſing trade was in 1698, when a corrupt majority in this Houſe laid a duty on cloths exported to England. Some ſpirited and patriotic members ſtanding up to oppoſe this meaſure, it was defended on the ground of being an experiment, and that it would continue only for three years, but was in the year following made perpetual. Let us mark the conſequences.—The manufacturers, no longer able to find ſubſiſtence at home, emigrated, where they were received with open arms. The French, notwithſtanding every exertion, had been unable to eſtabliſh the woollen manufactures, until they procured Iriſh wool to mix with their own, and Iriſhmen to weave it. They then, conſcious of the advantages of protecting their trade, laid additional duties on the importation of Engliſh cloths. The event ſoon confirmed with what propriety they adopted theſe protecting duties; they in a ſhort time manufactured enough for the home market, and by raiſing from time to time, the protecting duties, at length to a prohibition, are enabled not only

only to rival Great Britain, but to underſell her in every market in Europe.

Before the laſt mentioned reign, it was as uſual to recommend from the throne, at the opening of every ſeſſion, the woollen manufacture, to the conſideration of parliament, as of late it has been to recommend the linen manufacture, or any other branch of trade.—Our journals, Sir, are full of ſuch recommendations.

Another argument in favour of this propoſition can be drawn from the great benefits this country derived, from a power obtained by James, Duke of Ormond, of prohibiting the importation of Scotch manufactures. The protection was obtained againſt Scotland and not England, becauſe we were not then afraid of the latter. The utility of this duty was ſo great, as to give in our favour a balance, notwithſtanding the pernicious effects of the plantation laws, and the other unfair reſtrictions of King William's reign, on our trade. Have not we, therefore, a right to expect the ſame ſalutary conſequences from the adoption of a like meaſure now?

Let no man ſay that England is ſo inſenſible of her own intereſt as to be averſe to this meaſure. England, from unhappy experience, is convinced of the pernicious effects of her impolicy. The emigration of the Iriſh manufacturers in the reign of King William, is not the only inſtance that has taught that nation the ruinous effects of reſtrictive laws. Our own remembrance has furniſhed a ſad inſtance of the truth of this aſſertion—furniſhed it in the American war. America was loſt by Iriſh emigrants.—Theſe emigrations are freſh in the recollection of every gentleman in this Houſe; and when the unhappy differences took place, I am aſſured, from the beſt authority, the major part of the American army was compoſed of Iriſh; and that the Iriſh language was as commonly

monly ſpoken in the American ranks as that of England. I am alſo informed, it was their valour determined the conteſt; ſo that England not only loſt a principal protection of her woollen-trade in Europe, but alſo had America detached from her by force of Iriſh emigrants.

Mr. Gardiner, after dwelling ſome time on the pernicious effects of the act of William III. ſhewed by what progreſs importations had ariſen, from an average ſum of 14,000*l.* to the enormous ſum of 836,000*l.* in the year 1778.

In 1779, this country, no longer able to ſupport the pernicious effects of the oppreſſions under which ſhe labour'd, undertook a great meaſure. We ſpoke out and demanded a free trade.—It is but juſtice to gentlemen, it is but juſtice to the nation, to obſerve that they were unanimous and perſevered. *England* acted wiſely and juſtly on the occaſion, and reſtor'd us our right. But of what uſe will this free trade be—will it be any thing but a name, if we do not ſeize the advantages of it by promoting it? It is impoſſible to do ſo, unleſs we have an opportunity of ſupplying our home conſumption, and exporting the redundancy. It is impoſſible to underſell other nations in foreign markets, if underſold in our own. While our ports are open to the exportation of raw materials, and the importation of Britiſh manufactures, can we expect to reap any benefit from the extenſion of our commerce? Let us turn our thoughts to the article of cotton, and we ſhall find great quantities imported, and not a ſingle yard exported. The very ſame might be affirmed of many other manufactures.

England, ſo early as Edward III. perceived the neceſſity of protecting her woollens, when a law was enacted to prevent wearing foreign manufactures. With reſpect to Ireland, however, ſhe was not then conſidered as coming under the denomination

denomination of foreign. The habits of intimacy and connexion between the two countries, prevented England from excluding Ireland, when ſhe excluded the reſt of the world. Here are two points proved, the adoption of protecting duties, and that we were not conſidered a foreign nation with reſpect to England.—But the manufactures of England were then in a progreſſive ſtate, and it appears that the home market was then the principal object in impoſing a duty on the importation of woollens. In the ſame reign it muſt be admitted, a duty was laid on bay yarn, but this was only to raiſe a revenue to the crown by diſpenſations. England flouriſhed, but flouriſhed from a different cauſe—from the protecting duties, which procured her a home market; ſhe ſoon far outſtripped other nations in her manufactures; but in the reign of Elizabeth, the reſt of Europe, perceiving the good effects of the meaſure to England, began to lay on protecting duties alſo. France laid a duty of half a livre on cloth imported; this was ſhortly after augmented to a livre, and ſo by degrees to actual prohibition. The Dutch followed the example.—The effect of thoſe protections on the manufactures of England was quickly perceptible.

In the year 1616, the exports decreaſed 160,000*l.* In ſome time after, the balance was found to be more conſiderable againſt her; her imports being above a million, and her exports not quite 300,000*l.* a year. She then found it neceſſary to recur to freſh protecting duties, and to prohibit the importation of broad ſilk. She alſo ſaw it neceſſary to prohibit the wear of India goods. Theſe protecting duties have ever ſince been accumulating, and Ireland included, as well as other countries. They have been conſtantly, as far as reſpected Ireland, increaſed during the reign of George I. and II. but it muſt be confeſſed, no ſuch thing has been done in the reign of George III. On the contrary, more has been procured for this country, during that period, than ſince our firſt connexion.

Before the protection of her manufactures, the balance was conſiderably againſt her; the French importations were computed at an average to amount to 1,500,000*l.* per annum. Afterwards, by means of protecting duties, inſtead of importing, her exports of woollens amounted to 5,000,900 yards. Her home conſumption to 6,000,000; making together 11,000,000. So that ſhe arrived to ſuch a ſummit of greatneſs as no country, ſince the fall of the Roman empire, ever attained. By means of the wealth procured by manufactures, ſhe was in the year 1763, able to impoſe the law on Europe.

In the late unſucceſsful war, we have ſeen her maintain a ſtruggle no country in the world would be able to maintain but herſelf. We ſee her now, after it, great, feared and reſpected, and that under the burden of an enormous national debt, which no other nation would be able to bear.

Having, on real matter of fact, ſhewn the progreſs and ſucceſs of the manufactures of the two countries—Having ſhewn how England has riſen, and Ireland declined—Having ſhewn that her ſyſtem of policy is the cauſe of her grandeur, permit me to draw your attention to the difference of ſituations. In England, the loweſt peaſant wears good broad-cloth, feeds well, and is lodged comfortably: the face of the country preſents a view of good habitations, and communicates an unſpeakable pleaſure to every man of humanity. I feel a warmth whenever I ſee and contemplate its beauty; but when I reflect on the miſery of my own unhappy country, that I left behind me, I ſink on the compariſon.—In England, all is joy, eaſe and content. It may be ſaid, in the ſcripture-phraſe, of that country, "the hills and vallies ſing with joy".—Let us now for a moment view the wretched condition of the miſerable Iriſhman.

The

The Iriſhman, Sir, feeds the cattle whoſe fleſh he is debarred from taſting. As to clothes, he has ſcarcely any. As for habitation, he has perhaps, ſome miſerable hovel, whither an Engliſhman would not venture to turn his beaſt. Here he, with an unhappy wife, and wretched offspring, muſt endeavour to drag out exiſtence, half ſtarved, and half famiſhed with cold. What a diſtinction, alas! between beings of the ſame ſpecies!

When, Sir, we thus view the different conditions of two people, it is natural to enquire into the cauſe of this difference. —Are Iriſhmen leſs fitted by nature to earn a livelihood than Engliſhmen? Is there any difference in their frames, to produce theſe very different effects? Are their conſtitutions worſe, or appetites greater? Is there any diſadvantage in the nature of our climate, ſoil, or ſituation of our country, to prevent our proſperity?—No! the climate of this country is delightful—the ſoil as rich and vegetating in general as any in the world—and our ſituation adapted for intercourſe with both worlds. Thus, thoſe who render our people idle, are the firſt to ridicule them for that idleneſs, and to ridicule them without cauſe. National characteriſtics are always unjuſt, as there never was a country that has not produced both good and bad. Though one man may be idle, another will be induſtrious, and though that man may be a drunkard, this may be ſober. I am grieved, Sir, to hear thoſe uncandid reflexions thrown on Iriſhmen. They are general aſſertions, falſe as they are illiberal.—Iriſhmen have ſhewn ſpirit and genius in whatever they have undertaken. They have ſhewn that they can make great exertions, when they are encouraged; the difference of the cultivation of this country, from what it was before the laws for promoting agriculture, will evince the truth of my aſſertion. A great proportion of the inhabitants of this country, previous to thoſe laws, lived on imported corn, but no ſooner was encouragement held forth to the plough, than the national induſtry broke forth, and

inſtead

inſtead of importing, a great quantity of corn was annually exported. This will ever remain a poſitive contradiction to the vague and ill-founded reflexions on Iriſhmen. I will even go farther, and call on gentlemen to ſpecify one inſtance where the people were indolent, where the laws of their country protected them in their endeavours. Let us conſider what has been done in reſpect to our linens. Though we were compelled to yield an eſtabliſhed manufacture, and to apply ourſelves to it, under the diſadvantage of contending with a country that has arrived at great perfection, yet we proſpered. And why? Becauſe we were not interfered with. If this be not a proof of induſtry, I know not what may be called ſo. Whenever this country has been encouraged, it ſhewed great induſtry—witneſs our linens, our broad ſtuffs, our tabinets, and poplins: How groundleſs, therefore, is the charge of indolence? Even admitting the people of this country were indolent, inſtead of contributing to keep them in it, by continuing their oppreſſions, this Houſe ought to remove that indolence.

As every cauſe but the true one, has been aſſigned for the preſent diſtreſſes of the poor, there have not been wanting perſons who have attributed it to the low price of whiſkey, and the drunkenneſs of the working manufacturers; but thoſe gentlemen who have, of late, been ſo fond of praiſing the induſtry of the North, ought to be informed, that there is no part of Ireland, in which the people drink more whiſkey, and yet manufactures ſucceed there perfectly. This I know, becauſe I have an eſtate in that part of the kingdom. I know they think nothing of drinking a pint of whiſkey in a day, and are able to attend to their buſineſs after. Some of my tenants have informed me, they could drink half a pint of whiſkey with as much eaſe as any of us could a glaſs of wine. As for me, no man more diſapproves of the abominable cuſtom of drinking ſpirits; but yet, I will be free to ſay the diſtreſs of our

our manufacturers is by no means to be imputed to drunkenneſs.

As theſe are not the cauſes of the preſent calamities, it is natural to aſk what may be the ſource of them? It may be anſwered, that want of employment is that ſource. Numbers of manufacturers cannot get their goods ſold.—How therefore, can they give employment? Several circumſtances contribute to forwarding the importation of Engliſh goods, whereby our own are injured. In England they have large capitals; they can buy and ſell much cheaper than our manufacturers, who have in general very ſmall capitals. The man with a large capital can afford to give long credit, which the other cannot; and eight per cent. will yield a greater profit to him in trade, who has 10,000*l.* than ten per cent. to him who has but 1000*l.* In England they give two years credit, when we can ſcarcely give ſix months, which induces people to deal with them, as they have a year and ſix months intereſt on the money. This enables them to turn their capitals oftener, ſo that if they ſell, even for leſs than others, the quick diſpoſal of their goods will not fail to bring them at the end of the year a much greater profit.

Something muſt be done to relieve the thouſands who now are famiſhing in your ſtreets. The city of Dublin, with a degree of humanity that will ever do it honour, has hitherto ſuccoured them by voluntary donations. But the donations of the city of Dublin will be found inadequate to the miſeries of thoſe poor men.—The non-importation agreement entered into in 1779, afforded them ſome ſmall relief for that time, but ſerved only to augment their diſtreſs ſince, as magazines of Engliſh cloths were then formed in this country.

Another expedient was, eſtabliſhing manufactories here, but, Sir, theſe have ended generally in the ruin of thoſe who have

have attempted it, for the Engliſh riders immediately give notice to their employers, when a manufactory is going to be ſet up; the conſequence is, the Britiſh merchant reſolves to loſe for a time, ſends over an abundance of the commodity, ſells it cheaper than it can poſſibly be wrought for, and totally overthrows his rival. Sir, I remember an inſtance of this in England itſelf; there was a houſe in Nottingham carried on a conſiderable trade in one branch of buſineſs; another finding it ſo profitable, determined to undertake it alſo; but the owner of the firſt houſe determined to loſe an immenſity, and underſell the new one; the latter, conſequently, failed in a ſhort time, and the buſineſs returned to its ancient channel. This ſhews, Sir, that the Engliſh merchant will always be an overmatch for any manufactory we ſet up, which can any way injure him. Now, Sir, another expedient was, opening our export trade; I never ſhall arraign that meaſure: It was conducted by a gentleman, whoſe memory I ſhall ever revere, and whom I never think of without emotions which I cannot expreſs; but, Sir, an export trade is beginning at the wrong end; unleſs there is an home conſumption it will never avail.

The home conſumption is what gives money and ſpirit to the undertaker; without money he cannot pay the men whom he employs, and that money is only to be had by home conſumption. Since then the remedies that have been applied are ineffectual, let us now ſee what may be ſucceſsful; and in this let us copy the conduct of England, of France, and other commercial countries; and that is by protecting our manufactures at home.

Then, Sir, faſhion, though it may appear at firſt a trivial matter, has a very great effect on our trade, and for this reaſon—whatever is the faſhion, the manufacturer has a home conſumption for, and ſells at an enormous advanced profit,

for

for ready money; as ſoon as the faſhion alters, he has made ſo much by it, that he can ſend over the redundancy here, and ſell it at firſt coſt, or conſiderably under the firſt coſt, and ſtill be a gainer;—and therefore, though ſome perſons here have ſent to England, and got patterns of the faſhionable articles, yet before the patterns could be procured, the dies prepared, and the manufacture wrought, the Engliſh merchant would have varied his faſhion there, and ſent the redundancy over to us, and underſold us ſo as to deſtroy our hopes.

Now, Sir, what have been the remedies which we have endeavoured to provide? A non-importation agreement, which, while it laſted, had ſome effect, but it was but temporary, the benefit ariſing from it was but for a ſeaſon, and I fear it has eſtabliſhed a permanent evil; for, Sir, it was by no means general, and the people, particularly in the North, who were not ſo much injured by importation, eſtabliſhed warehouſes, opened their ports, and laid in ſuch a quantity of Engliſh goods, as poured an inundation upon us, the moment the agreement was at an end.—A few words, (continued Mr. Gardiner), will be ſufficient to prove, that this meaſure will not be injurious to the landed property of this country. The advantages of the man of landed eſtate, and of the manufacturer, are reciprocal; for the proſperity of the one is the ſupport of the other.—The petition therefore preſented to this Houſe, by an Honourable Gentleman, from certain landholders of his county, cannot with any degree of propriety be urged againſt this meaſure."

This meaſure however was defeated; but the patriotic and ſpirited reſolves of the Guild of Merchants, relative to non-importation agreements, until protecting duties ſhould be obtained, proved extremely uſeful to the ſtarving manufacturers of the metropolis. *

* Hiſt. Iriſh Affairs, vol. II.

It was at length reſolved, that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, " That his faithful Commons humbly beg leave to approach his Majeſty's throne, with hearts of gratitude for the many bleſſings they enjoy under his wiſe and benignant government, and at the ſame time to expreſs to his Majeſty the deep concern they feel for thoſe diſtreſſes which affect many of the lower orders of manufacturers in this kingdom. That his faithful Commons beg leave humbly to repreſent to his Majeſty, that his Majeſty's ſubjects in Ireland have always been a loyal people, and have, on every occaſion, manifeſted the warmeſt attachment to his Majeſty's royal perſon and family. That as they are deeply impreſſed with his Majeſty's paternal care and affection, they entertain the warmeſt hopes that the interval between the cloſe of the preſent ſeſſion and the beginning of the next, will afford ſufficient opportunity for forming a wiſe and well-digeſted plan for a liberal arrangement of commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland, to be then brought forward. That his faithful Commons humbly beg leave to aſſure his Majeſty, that ſuch a plan formed upon the broad baſis of reciprocal advantage, would be the moſt effectual means of ſtrengthening the empire at large, and cheriſhing the common intereſt and brotherly affection of both kingdoms." *

The following addreſs was alſo agreed to and preſented to the Lord Lieutenant, viz.

To his Grace, Charles Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland.

The humble Addreſs of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament aſſembled:

" *May it pleaſe your Grace,*

" We, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons

* Comm. Jour. vol. xxi.

Commons of Ireland, in Parliament aſſembled, ſee with particular ſatisfaction the arrival of that period which calls upon us to review the various meaſures of our ſeſſion, and to teſtify to your Grace thereupon the warm ſenſe of our obligation and duty.

" We have at once to congratulate ourſelves, and to acknowledge the goodneſs of our Sovereign, in the appointment of a Chief Governor, who by attention to regulate his conduct by our wiſhes, hath fully confirmed the juſtice of that early confidence which we zealouſly profeſſed in the liberality of his diſpoſition, and the ſpirit of his hereditary virtues; a juſt eſtimation of ſuch qualities muſt ever render him the favourite of a ſpirited and generous nation.

" We are perſuaded that his Majeſty has obſerved with pleaſure our attention to thoſe objects which were recommended to our deliberation at the opening of the ſeſſion, and has graciouſly accepted the aſſurance of ſatisfaction which we have repeatedly expreſſed in the bleſſings of our happy conſtitution.

" And when we reflect upon the meaſures we have taken to enſure a conſtant ſupply of corn under every poſſible circumſtance; upon the proſpect of benefit in the management of the revenue; upon our attention to make the additional ſecurity of private property a cauſe of increaſe to the national credit; upon our proviſion for the improvement of the metropolis, and our encouragement of uſeful eſtabliſhments, and of various branches of trade and manufacture, we doubt not of receiving the true reward of our ſervices in the approbation of our Sovereign, and in the gratitude of our fellow-ſubjects.

" We

" We reflect with true pride and satisfaction upon the solid advantages which have been attained for this country within a very short period. We are aware of the situation of the empire, and the peculiar circumstances which have prevented the adjustment of some points which concern our trade and manufactures, and we rely upon the readiness of your Grace's liberal and benevolent assistance for the furtherance of such practicable measures as deliberate wisdom and generous policy may adapt to our real necessities and general interests.

" As guardians of the rights and safety of our fellow subjects, as well as assertors of the national honour, we have felt ourselves called upon to express our abhorrence of tumult and of seditious publications; zealous to uphold the true spirit of the constitution, we have made it the object of our unanimous resolution to defend its genuine liberty against the attacks of licentiousness.

" We have not suffered to escape our grateful observation the early anxiety which your Grace manifested to remove every apprehension of party prejudices or partial changes in the councils or measures of Government. We feel and acknowledge the benefits arising from such a principle; we have studied to shew a sincere disposition to confirm them, by a liberal imitation; and we shall be zealous to concur in diffusing throughout every part of the kingdom the successful influence of so happy an example. Convinced as we are of the importance to this kingdom of a steady and permanent administration, it is our ardent wish that his Majesty may long continue your Grace in the Government of Ireland." *

In 1784 the country was again disturbed by those insurgents called white-boys, who committed depredations, particularly

* Comm. Journ. Vol. xxi.

ticularly in the county of Kilkenny; inſomuch that the clergy of the Romiſh church conſidered it neceſſary to interfere, and exert their utmoſt influence over theſe deluded offenders. On this occaſion the Rev. Dr. *Troy*, then Roman Catholic biſhop of Oſſory, ordered the following exhortation to be publicly communicated throughout that dioceſe, and the ſame was accordingly read in the different chapels, and afterwards printed in the public newſpapers.

" Dear Chriſtians,

" At this particular time, when the bleſſings of peace, and a plentiful harveſt, ſhould warm the hearts of Chriſtians with becoming gratitude to the Father of Mercies, and excite a ſpirit of induſtry amongſt all ranks of people, we are much concerned to obſerve riot and diſorder pervading many of our communion in ſeveral parts of this county and dioceſe. Unmindful of the untimely and ignominious death of their relations and acquaintances formerly diſtinguiſhed by the execrable appellation of White-Boys, and deaf to the dictates of reaſon and religion conſtantly enforced by our exhortations from the altars, they are endeavouring to renew the horrid ſcenes of confuſion and bloodſhed which diſgraced this part of the kingdom not many years ago. They again ſeem to glory in the opprobrious name of White-Boys, and have lately aſſembled at unſeaſonable hours, and in different parties, ſounding their riotous horn. They have preſumed to adminiſter oaths of combination, and proceeded to barbarous acts of violence againſt the perſons and property of ſeveral individuals. In a word, they notoriouſly violate the moſt ſacred laws, and equally deſpiſe the injunctions of their ſpiritual and temporal rulers. Such accumulated enormities call to Heaven for vengeance, which will moſt aſſuredly fall on the deluded offenders, if they do not ſpeedily expiate their crimes by ſincere and exemplary repentance. As our ſilence upon this occaſion might be miſunderſtood by ignorant,

rant, or ſiniſtrouſly interpreted by malevolent perſons, we think it highly incumbent on us to declare, as we do hereby ſolemnly, in the name and by the authority of our holy mother the Church :—Firſt, That the aſſociation-oaths uſually taken by the miſguided and unhappy wretches called White-Boys are bonds of iniquity, and conſequently unlawful, wicked and damnable. They are not, therefore, binding in any manner whatſoever. Secondly, we in like manner declare, that we condemn, abhor and deteſt the above-mentioned outrages, as contrary to the maxims and canons of our holy religion, deſtructive of the public peace, injurious to private property, and ſubverſive of every law. Finally, we condemn theſe deluded offenders, who call themſelves Roman Catholics, as ſcandalous and rotten members of our holy church, from which they have been already cut off by the ſentence of excommunication ſolemnly fulminated againſt them on the 17th October, 1779, in all the chapels of this dioceſs. We cannot conclude without beſeeching you, deareſt Chriſtians, to join us in fervent and conſtant prayer for the ſpeedy converſion of theſe unthinking creatures. Their condition is truly deplorable ; in this life expoſed, by their nocturnal excurſions and wanton depredations, to ſickneſs, loathſome impriſonment, and an infamous death ; whilſt in the next, their obſtinacy will be puniſhed with endleſs torture. May our Gracious God, by his efficacious grace, avert this greateſt of evils, and thereby prevent the bitter recollection of their having diſregarded our timely and paſtoral admonitions. We ſhudder at the very apprehenſion of the manifold evils which muſt neceſſarily enſue to themſelves, to their families, and to their country, from a continuation of their unwarrantable proceedings.

" It being equally our wiſh and duty to promote the happineſs of mankind in general, and that of our country and flock in particular, we ſhall invariably conduct ourſelves in a man-

a manner becoming miniſters of the goſpel and members of ſociety. Uninfluenced by fear or any worldly conſideration, we are determined to adopt ſuch further means as ſhall be found conducive to the above-mentioned, and other great objects of our vocation.

J. T. TROY."

"Kilkenny, 12th Nov. 1784."

This effort to reſtrain theſe inſurgents from further outrage, was much approved of by the Government, as appears by the following letter from the then Secretary (Mr. Orde*) to Dr. Troy, which we ſtate from the original MS. with which we were favoured :—

"SIR, "Dub. Cas. 20 Nov. 1784.

"I read with great pleaſure your forcible and well timed exhortation to the Roman Catholics of the dioceſe of Oſſory upon the reappearance in the County of Kilkenny of thoſe execrable rioters formerly called white-boys. I thought it a juſtice due to you to lay it before the Lord Lieutenant; and I have his commands to aſſure you of the great ſatisfaction he feels in the part you have taken for the preſervation of peace and preventing the unhappy conſequences which muſt follow from thoſe wicked and deluded people perſiſting in ſuch outrageous violation of the law. I truſt your endeavours will have that ſucceſs which they merit, and which claim the eſteem of all good men.

I have the Honour to be,
Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
THO. ORDE."

On 14 May 1784 the Parliament was prorogued, the Lord Lieutenant having concluded this ſeſſion with the following ſpeech.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

In addreſſing you for the firſt time in Parliament, at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, I embrace with pleaſure the occaſion which

* Now Lord Bolton.

which is afforded me of returning you my affectionate acknowledgment for the cordiality of my reception, and the early assurances of your confidence. And I am at the same time highly gratified in being authorized to communicate to you the sentiments of perfect satisfaction with which his Majesty approves of your exertions for the public welfare.

" *Gentlemen of the House of Commons*,

I am happy in obeying his Majesty's commands, to thank you for the chearfulness with which you have made provision for the exigencies and honor of his government. Let me assure you, on my part, that the readiness with which you have granted supplies stimulates my utmost attention and care, that they shall be managed with œconomy, and applied with prudence.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen*,

You will have much satisfaction in reflecting that the various objects which, in consequence of the acknowledged independence of the legislature, were recommended for your deliberations, at the opening of this session, have been diligently pursued and accomplished.

You have wisely given your sanction to the extraordinary expedients which it has been necessary to employ in order to preserve the kingdom from famine; and I feel great satisfaction in the prospect that they will be prevented for the future, by the new and judicious arrangement of your corn laws, and the improved extension of your agriculture.

I see with pleasure the exertions of an humane and liberal principle, which has prompted you to give encouragement to the national industry, by favourable regulations and well directed bounties. I have warmly at heart the advancement of your trade, and the success of all your manufactures, and

I ſhall not fail either to conſider, or to repreſent thoſe inſtances whereof the peculiar circumſtances of the empire have hitherto prevented a full inveſtigation, and which ſhall be found to require a further adjuſtment.

The uſeful regulations propoſed to be introduced into the collection and management of the revenue; the ſecurity of private property, and extenſion of national credit, by depoſiting in the bank of Ireland, the money of ſuitors in the Courts of Chancery and Exchequer; the plans for improving the metropolis, calculated not more for ornament and ſplendor, than for health and convenience; your unanimous determination to defend the freedom of the conſtitution againſt the attacks of licentiouſneſs; and your attention to the ſupport of charitable inſtitutions, are all unequivocal teſtimonies of your wiſdom, humanity and juſtice.

I have not failed to convey to our Sovereign the ſatisfaction you have ſo decidedly expreſſed in the bleſſings of that happy conſtitution which you enjoy under his Majeſty's auſpicious government. Senſible as you are of theſe eminent advantages, it can hardly be neceſſary for me to deſire that you ſhould be attentive to impreſs them on the minds of others, over whom your ſuperiority of rank and information muſt and ought to give you a juſt and benevolent influence.

I have a ſure confidence, that during your reſidence in your reſpective counties, you will ſeek to direct and encourage the induſtry of your neighbourhood, in the purſuits beſt adapted to their ſituations, and by which the community at large may be moſt effectually benefited. You will point out to them the real reſources of a free and fertile country, under the bleſſings of peace, and the mild protection of the laws; and you will not ſuffer miſapprehenſions to perplex, or falſe informations to miſguide them.

It

It is my happineſs and pride to reflect that our united attention has been, and is directed to the ſame objects, of maintaining and advancing the rights, the dignity, and the proſperity of Ireland, and the general intereſts of the empire." *

* Comm. Journ. Vol. xxi.

End of the first Vol.